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## Near East/South Asia Report

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16 MAY 1986

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

### CONTENTS

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

##### ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

Mitterrand Receives Delegation, Promises 'Support' (GAMK, 13 Mar 86).....	1
Armenian Role in Liberation Movements Cited (London KEYHAN, 20 Mar 86).....	4

#### ARAB AFRICA

##### ALGERIA

Youth Work on 'Green Dam' To Reclaim Desert (Francoise Chipaux; LE MONDE, 30 Mar 86).....	7
--	---

##### EGYPT

Living Conditions in Emergency Housing Area Described (Izzah al-Wulayli, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Latif; AL-SHA'B, 11 Mar 86).....	11
---	----

Political Veterans Analyze Past, Present Politics (Samiyah 'Abd-al-Raziq; AL-JUMHURIYAH, 27 Mar 86).....	15
---	----

##### SUDAN

Tripoli Radio Reports Reaction to Union With Libya (Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland, 12 Apr 86).....	24
--	----

Foreign Sources Accused of Aiding Garang (AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, 9 Apr 86).....	26
Briefs	
SPLA Officers Promoted	27
Soviet Aid	27
Saudi Oil Shipment	27
Commercial Protocol With Morocco	27
Tax on Expatriates	28
SUNA Criticizes 'Fabricated' Report	28
Bandits Kill 14	28

## ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

### BAHRAIN

Residents, Officials Discuss Regional Concerns ( 'Uthman al-'Amir; AL-MAJALLAH, 26 Mar-1 Apr 86).....	29
--	----

### IRAQ

Rights Group Cites Regime's Political Prisoners (LE MONDE, 8 Mar 86).....	34
Assessing Responsibility for Expulsion of Prisoners (LE MONDE, 8 Mar 86).....	36

### ISRAEL

Interview With Commander of Tank Maintenance Center (BAMAHANE, No 29, 13 Mar 86).....	39
New 14.5 mm Artillery Expected To Save Thousands of Dollars (Ronit Pori'an; BAMAHANE, No 29, 13 Mar 86).....	42
Pen Pistol Seized in Southern Lebanon (BAMAHANE, No 29, 13 Mar 86).....	44
Housing Development for Military Careerists (BAMAHANE, No 29, 13 Mar 86).....	45
Cotton Growing Industry, Policies Surveyed ( 'AL HAMISHMAR, 30 Mar 86).....	48
Labor Self-Reliance, by Hayim Margalit	48
Policy Reforms Advocated, by Yosef Galili	50



## SOUTH ASIA

### AFGHANISTAN

Armed Forces Issues Personnel Discharge Orders (BAKHTAR, 12 Apr 86).....	54
---	----

### INDIA

Gorbachev 'Eager' To Visit India, Envoy Says (THE STATESMAN, 2 Apr 86).....	55
Protocol on Ferrous Metallurgy Signed With USSR (PATRIOT, 5 Apr 86).....	56
Papers Summarize Defense Ministry Annual Report (THE TELEGRAPH, 1 Apr 86; THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 Apr 86)....	57
Dangers From Pakistan, PRC	57
Internal Dangers Noted	58
Bangladesh Army Reported Massing on Border (PATRIOT, 2 Apr 86).....	59
Analyst Comments on Indo-Turkish Relations (THE HINDU, 5 Apr 86).....	60
Study on Tribals Termed Part of 'Anti-India Campaign' (PATRIOT, 5 Apr 86).....	61
Papers Report on Developments in Punjab (THE HINDU, 2, 4 Apr 86; THE STATESMAN, 2 Apr 86).....	62
New Governor Appointed, by G. K. Reddy	62
Summing Up of Assembly Session	63
High Turnover of Governors, by G.K. Reddy	64
Fernandes: Janata Plans To Work Closely With Left (THE TELEGRAPH, 4 Apr 86).....	65
Department of Steel Issues Report for 1985-86 (PATRIOT, 2 Apr 86).....	66
Briefs	
Assignment for Bhandari	68
Ravi-Beas Tribunal	68

### IRAN

Rafsanjani Vows To 'Liberate' Iraqis, Reduce Compensation (ETTELA'AT, 10 Mar 86).....	69
--	----

Former Prime Minister Establishes New Organization (London KEYHAN, 27 Mar 86).....	72
---	----

## PAKISTAN

U.S. Vice President's Gulf Tour Criticized (Editorial; THE MUSLIM, 11 Apr 86).....	75
---	----

Benazir Bhutto Urges 'Usurper' Ziaul Haq To Resign (KYODO, 19 Apr 86).....	76
---	----

### Briefs

New Naval Chief	77
Air Chief Visits Turkey	77

## SRI LANKA

Impressions of Tamil-Singhalese Conflict, Indian Mediation (J.P. Gene; LIBERATION, 3-6 Apr 86).....	78
--	----

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

MITTERRAND RECEIVES DELEGATION, PROMISES 'SUPPORT'

Paris GAMK in French 13 Mar 86 pp 1, 4

[Text] At the Elysee Palace on Tuesday, 11 March, President Francois Mitterrand received three representatives of the Armenian community: Henri Papazian, general secretary of the Dachnaktsoutioun FRA, Jules Mardirossian, CDCA [Committee for Defense of the Armenian Cause] National Office chairman, and Ara Krikorian, CDCA spokesman.

The interview, held in the late morning in a genial atmosphere, made it possible to broach and consider with hope the major concerns of the Armenian community in France, as well as of Armenians worldwide. President Mitterrand in fact expressed a sincere interest in the Armenian question, which he fully understands cannot be limited to this or that political or cultural aspect but constitutes a whole.

This commitment of the French president to Armenians is not new; past statements alone indicate that the Armenian question could not, for President Mitterrand, be the subject of election bargaining, of which he has been accused by his political enemies. Does this mean that Armenians are doomed to be heard only during election campaigns? Although it is true that Mr Mitterrand received members of the Dachnaktsoutioun FRA and CDCA 5 days before the elections, that impending date in no way detracts from the historic importance of this event: a French president, the embodiment of a socialist tradition concerned with respecting the right of peoples to self-determination, who listened for 40 minutes to both the desires and problems of French citizens of Armenian descent at a time when current developments cruelly revealed that during an election period certain events cannot be discussed in election terms. By both its content and friendly form, this historic event demonstrates, if there is any need for it, the French president's continual attentiveness toward Armenians.

Warm, understanding, attentive: these three adjectives describe perfectly Francois Mitterrand's demeanor throughout the private interview he granted to representatives of the Dachnaktsoutioun FRA and CDCA in the intimacy of his presidential office. With protocol reduced to a strict minimum, the president's cordial reception enabled his discussion partners to candidly disclose the concerns of Armenians without formality at any time affecting the course of an interview that often looked as though it were nothing more than a friendly exchange of comments. But this sympathy displayed from the outset

by President Mitterrand was supported by his undeniable and total familiarity with the Armenian question, which lent more weight to the president's remarks: if the tone was often one of surprise and amazement, it should be viewed as merely a rhetorical envelope for examining more closely and understanding better his discussion partners' queries.

Mr Mitterrand also displayed such attentiveness to questions posed by Jules Mardirossian concerning both the cultural future of the Armenian community in France and the national and political accomplishments of the Armenian people. Mr Mitterrand appeared particularly receptive to this duality of the Armenian community in France, whose requirements must be thoroughly met--the cultural side--but whose national aspirations, as a nonindigenous minority, must also be satisfied--the political side.

Francois Mitterrand mentioned terrorism in this connection: "Why is France the victim of the actions of Armenian extremists? ... I don't understand," especially since France has always demonstrated its understanding of the Armenian question. "In Vienna in 1984, I myself acknowledged Armenian genocide," he added, expressing puzzlement over actions directed "against us."

Following these initial remarks, which by no means set the subsequent tone of the interview, Mr Mitterrand said he was amazed at the "exceptionally successful integration of Armenians." Jules Mardirossian replied that despite being well integrated, Armenians were not asking themselves any fewer fundamental questions about their community's future. Foremost among their concerns is the survival of their language and culture; to ensure this survival, it is essential to create structures for reviving and developing the learning of the Armenian language, the vehicle of their culture and identity. This need corresponds to a growing demand of Armenian youth to affirm their identity. Mr Jules Mardirossian described this anxious concern, which, combined with the confusion born of promises not confirmed officially, expresses the uncertain status of the Armenian language in schools and universities. To put an end to this ambiguous legal situation, he expressed the hope that France would encourage the desire of Armenians to rediscover their culture by taking concrete steps to support Armenian schools, which are currently experiencing many problems, and to create a university curriculum for Armenian language and civilization up to the doctorate degree.

President Mitterrand answered the first part of the question clearly: to overcome the obstacles raised by the new Chevenement law, which he described as its "perverse effects," he assured the Armenian community of his understanding and referred them to the Ministry of National Education: "I'm going to speak to the ministry in question and you will contact it to resolve this problem."

Since the proposed establishment of a university curriculum requires putting in place a university infrastructure, for which the government is responsible, it was expected that President Mitterrand's response would be less explicit. After inquiring whether such a curriculum existed for other "minorities," to which Jules Mardirossian replied that it existed for other "languages" (Hebrew and Arabic), Mr Mitterrand responded positively to the request and promise that he would speak to the minister of national education about it.



Lacking state structures, the Armenian people depend on governments to survive as a distinct national entity, in terms of both cultural and political accomplishments. Armenians are particularly sensitive at present to the vote on the Armenian question in the European Parliament; German, Dutch and some British members of the parliament have appeared hostile to this issue thus far. Mr Mardirossian asked President Mitterrand for his personal support so that this proposed resolution, submitted by the socialist group, would be adopted in its entirety, i.e., with regard to both the recognition of genocide and the need for an Armenian-Turkish dialogue. Francois Mitterrand responded positively to this request, intended to introduce the purely political side of the Armenian issue and its resolution: in the development of the Armenian cause, France is playing an international role by officially recognizing this reality, which has been verified by history; President Mitterrand's Armenian discussion partners asked him to create the political conditions for initiating a dialogue between representatives of the Turkish Government and Armenian political officials. "This is a delicate problem that will require a great effort," President Mitterrand replied, obviously surprised by a request involving national responsibilities, but which he noted with interest. "I will try to find the means to create the conditions for a dialogue," he nevertheless stated.

For a dialogue to get underway, the symbolic value of Armenian genocide, the first genocide of the 20th century, must be universally recognized. Here again, France has a role to play and the prestige that France enjoys in international public opinion can help to get across the message of condemning genocide, a message of universal value. The representatives of the Armenian community recalled that the date of 24 April, which is commemorated each year by Armenians the world over, is a date whose symbolic value would be enhanced if it were proclaimed the "National Day of Action Against Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity." In this instance as well, Mr Mitterrand, undoubtedly surprised by a proposal whose form is not one of purely French "tradition"-- Resolution HJ192, in the process of being voted on in the Armenian Congress, is supported by an appropriate parliamentary motion--also promised to submit it to his government.

President Mitterrand responded favorably to the four discussion points presented by the representatives of the Armenian community; moreover, he clearly defined how he sees the Armenian question: it must be assigned to ministries according to the jurisdictions under which its main aspects fall: the educational aspect will be assigned to the Ministry of National Education, the cultural aspect to the Ministry of Culture, and the political aspect to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As for Mr Mitterrand, he "pledges" to apprise the respective ministries and to act as a liaison so that the systematic distribution of responsibilities concerning the Armenian question does not result in their division.

At the close of the interview, Mr Mitterrand promised each of the three men he had received that "they were welcome to see him again." Coming from a man of the people, this promise will withstand the test of the elections, which, regardless of their outcome, will in no way change the spirit of sincerity and justice displayed by Mr Mitterrand, something that will not easily be forgotten.



ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN ROLE IN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS CITED

London KEYHAN in Persian 20 Mar 86 p 7

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] In the past few days there have been various kinds of talks and articles in the papers about the constitutional movement in Iran and the groups who took part in that movement and showed their devotion. I do not recall in which weekly magazines I read about the role of the Iranian Zoroastrians in the constitutional movement. This report reminded me of those Iranian Armenians who perhaps played a more significant role in that movement.

The motive of the Iranian Armenians as well as those of Turkey and the Caucasia [the former Ottoman Empire] was but one thing--to gain their liberation. Those Iranian Armenians as a result of their intermingling with other Armenians from the above-stated regions became well-prepared for a struggle and in many cases they brought many strugglers from the other side of the borders to help them in their fight in Azarbaijan and Gilan. As a matter of fact, there were a significant number of Armenians who came to the assistance of other liberators such as Sattar Khan and in addition to manpower they also provided the needed war materiel as well.

If at this time we had proper access to all the related history pertaining to this struggle, we could certainly name many Iranian Armenians who played a role in the constitution movement of Iran.

We could even point to two very significant period in history such as the Safavid interval when Armenians had good relations with the courts of Safavids and the present day Jolfa district in Esfahan is but a pleasant reminder of that era. At this juncture it would be better to leave alone the issue of Armenia which became a means or a pretext for a power struggle between the Iranian monarchs and the Roman Empire and about which they fought for so many years.

Now, let us go back to the period when the constitutional movement was underway. Here I would like to mention the names of two men and two women in this regard. One of the men was Mirza Malcom Khan who was chosen as minister plenipotentiary by Nasser-Eddin Shah and who also was given the honorary title of Nazem ol-Dowleh and who later on distanced himself from the monarch and founded the

Qanun magazine in London. This publication, which was not undoubtedly a newspaper and became known as the Qanun newspaper, through the instrument of a simple and plain language, but at the same time a cutting and revolutionary tongue awoke the people by talking about the benefits of law, justice and equality and explained the unfavorable prevalent situations. Many of the phrases which were used in this publication became slogans for the constitutionalists who stood up to their mottos to the end.

This magazine was very much in demand in Iran and used to be passed around covertly. Likewise, it was brought into the country by various means such as hiding it under or inside the packsaddle of a mule and so forth. Therefore, we can see that Mirza Malcom-Khan was one of the pioneers of the constitution movement of Iran who played a very significant role through his writings and his magazine.

Another man was Yepre Davidian who was famous as Yepre Khan. This man, through his unselfish devotion and courage and his familiarity with the methods of struggle, practically fought side by side with the supporters of the constitution and for several times was driven to the point of defeat and destruction, yet he kept coming back ever more courageously and did a great service towards the victory of this movement and finally lost his life in the cause.

At the beginning of the constitutional era with the inauguration of the National Consultative Assembly [Majlis], Yeprem Khan was chosen as the chief of the police department and was asked to bring order to the chaotic situation in Tehran at the time.

This knowledgeable and devoted man through his praiseworthy services became a very popular figure and his name will continue to adorn Iranian history.

Regarding the two lion-hearted and assiduous Armenian women who played prominent roles in that period, one was a young lady called Anahit Barsadanian from Gilan Province. This intrepid and brave woman was one of the pioneers of the liberation movement in Rasht. After the advent of the victory of the constitution in Tehran, the supporters of the liberation movement in Rasht illuminated the city and in a great merry-making celebration at the Modirieh Gardens and the people asked Anahit to make a speech. She mesmerized the audience with her words and invited all the women of the country to participate in the struggle for liberation and development of the country and asked them to be both good mothers and worthy strugglers and politicians of the country.

Another Armenian lady who fought side by side with her struggling husband was the wife of Yeprem-Khan, who was also called Anahit. During the incumbency of Yeprem-Khan as the chief of police, she was one of the hard-working women who helped to establish the first Iranian Association of Women in 1289 [21 March 1910 - 20 March 1911]. At that time it was not easy for women to gather for meetings. The women were not allowed to leave the house other than when they were going to pay a visit to their relatives or were going to attend a religious ceremony or other similar occasions. Thus their meetings had to take place quite clandestinely. Because of the difficulties which they had

to face along the way there was always the possibility that some women might lose their perseverance. Yet one of the women who most assiduously carried out her struggle to encourage the women to continue their fight in order to attain their freedom was this lady named Anahit, wife of Yeprem-Khan who would arrange sessions at her home.

We all know that it was as a result of the struggle of such ladies that a large number of women gathered in front of the Majlis to protest the Soviet ultimatum pertaining to the expelling of Mr Shuster, the American financial expert, from Iran. This brave and courageous act of Iranian women, which was manifested in a burst of unified struggle, took the Majlis deputies quite by surprise and as a result of their objection to the Soviet ultimatum and closing of the Majlis, we all know what happened thereafter.

This was a brief indication of the services and struggles of the Iranian Armenian women who supported the liberation movement in the years which were to become history-making for Iran.

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ALGERIA

YOUTH WORK ON 'GREEN DAM' TO RECLAIM DESERT

Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Francoise Chipaux: "Youngsters Join the Battle Against Desertification"]

[Text] Algeria consists of a seacoast and a desert. If we are to make it a permanently viable and prosperous country, we must be ready to undertake Herculean efforts. The enthusiasm and ingenuity of our young volunteers have got them off to a fine start.

Djelfa--There is a cold, gusty wind blowing here. The sun is just rising behind the bald hills where sheep are grazing. Out here, 350 kilometers to the northwest, Algiers and its beaches are very far away. On the other hand, though, the Sahara is very close at hand, and rapidly gaining ground on these arid or semi-arid lands, with their harsh climate--glacial in winter and torrid in summer--that have served since time immemorial as grazing lands for the flocks and herds the fiercely proud Ouled Nails drive across the hills.

At an elevation of 1,200 meters, Djelfa is one of the mainstays of the "Green Dam," a Gargantuan project originally designed as a huge forest curtain springing up in western Algeria to ward off the encroachment of the desert. "This is, along with the Trans-Saharan, the second masterpiece the nation owes to its youth," editorialized EL MOUDJAHID recently.

The Green Dam covers 3 million hectares, accounting for 60 percent of Algeria's productive arable land, with a population of 3 million souls. As a maiden attempt at a project on this scale, the initial plans were scaled down to accommodate goals at once more realistic and more sensitive to human needs. The job today, say the officials, is "to restore and maintain the ecological balance of the soils with a view to more carefully planned exploitation of their resources, coupled with improvements in the social advancement of the local populations."

It is indeed a vast program, involving selection of four test-zones, each 100,000 hectares in extent and already operative. The effects of work undertaken over a period of 15 years are now beginning to be felt, and the results are spectacular.

## A Pine Forest

Some 10 kilometers from the willaya seat, the Moudjebara project begun in 1970 is very well advanced. Its goal, to be achieved by reforesting 20,000 hectares of land, is to protect the soil, shelter Djelfa from the floods that are frequent in these regions of rare but extremely violent rainstorms, to stabilize the watertable, and eventually to revive a lumber-mill. Atop an overlook purposely arranged in a bend of a rock-strewn track, Khaled Rabah, the young and enthusiastic deputy director of Environment and Forests, cannot take his eye away from the view: an immense green swath crashing against the foot of a rocky crag, contrasting with the barrenness of the terrain only a few kilometers away. Divided at regular intervals by entrenched fire-breaks, criss-crossed with tracks that allow close surveillance of the nurseries, a new forest of Aleppo pine is on its way to rebirth. As of now, 12,000 hectares are reforested, 3,000 more will be; meanwhile, another 35,000 hectares of natural forest is in pitiful shape.

A few kilometers away is a 10-hectare nursery which produces 6 million seedlings every year: Aleppo pines, Proposis, Atriflex, Jajoba, Arizona cypress...

Meticulously marshaled into huge rectangles 20 meters long by 1 meter wide, stretching as far as the eye can see, guarded by parpen walls of dressed stone, each of them contains 8,000 to 9,000 plants. The seed is packed into small plastic sacks that are arranged at intervals along the seed-bed. Squatting on their heels, a dozen old men, their faces bronzed by the wind, pause to pull the hoods of their burnooses up over their heads to ward off the chill blast, carefully measuring the seed through little funnels into the small sacks.

The nursery employs about 100 full-time workers; and Monfoud, the head nurseryman, a veteran farmer, learned his new specialty on the job. Swathed in a capacious brown jellaba, a black-and-white keffieh on his head, is more than a little bit proud of the beauty of his domaine. He complains about the lack of interest among the young in these undertakings, and worries about the future, as he contemplates his aging workforce. Young people hereabouts are leaving the land and its hard life. One of the reasons for starting this vast project was to keep them here.

Finding it difficult at times to grasp the soundness of such long-term undertakings, the local people are prone to cursing the fences protecting the fields that lie along their ancestral routes to and from the seasonal grazing grounds. "We have to explain it to them, educate them," Khaled admits, "but, little by little, they will understand." The Green Dam also provides jobs. About 100 men are busy with rehabilitation of the Senelba-Chergi forest, as the first step toward controlled exploitation of the 100,000-hectare forest mass that will feed a lumbermill in Djelfa and provide another 200 jobs.



## Conscripts for the "City of Bliss"

About 100 kilometers from Djelfa, in an oasis called Bou-Saada, the "city of bliss" whose charms had so smitten French painter Etienne Dinet that he ordered his body to be buried there following his conversion to Islam, is a large-scale experiment in stabilizing the dunes, now being conducted by the Green Dam team. At the approach to the town, right now, rise mountains of sand that one windstorm could push anywhere, threaten the place. "This danger of being engulfed by sand is very real," warns an agronomics engineer. "Already, the Algiers-Biskra road is threatened, in the event of a sandstorm, farms have declined in value, and a lot of houses have been abandoned."

The Bou-Saada project is enormous: 25,000 hectares of dune-barriers are to be put into place within about 30 years. Here, as on the Trans-Saharan, young conscripts are part of the experiment. After 6 months of military training, many of them devote their final 15 months to working on major development projects. There are 250 young men, officered by agronomics engineers who are themselves conscripts, are working on the Bou-Saada project and, since January 1983, when the operations began, 800 hectares of sand have been stabilized.

The process is particularly interesting by reason of its simplicity, its modest cost, and the example it can offer to a continent where problems with desertification are very widespread.

This was designed as a two-phase operation because, first of all, you have to lay down a grid of seasoned palm-trunks parallel to each other and perpendicular to the prevailing winds, to act as a wind-break. That done, you plant trees that send down very deep roots and thereby stabilize the soil. The djounouds (young conscripts) use mainly tamarisk and acacia for planting in the foundations.

A newly-hatched beginner from the Agronomy School, one Ahmed, interviewed in his flawless lattice-work, does not make light of the difficulties of working on an ant-hill. The job is hard, the climate is harsh and, he says, "when there is a windstorm, 20 percent of the work has to be done over." The men must be perpetually on guard against the flocks and herds that are attracted to this unexpected stretch of green. However, it will be several years before the land is ready for sheep to graze here.

The experiment, at this stage, is a success. It has drawn interest from a number of countries, even now, and some have sent emissaries to tour this open-air work-site stretching further than the eye can see... In wide-open country, white tents clustered around one or two permanent buildings, mark the djounouds' camp: they do not venture far from their work-site.

In a rocky-strewn field overlooking a dry wadi, another gang of youngsters is busily planting Atriflex, a forage plant sheep find irresistible; here again, though, they will have to be kept at a distance. All over this region, the young troops, following the Green Dam development maps, are digging wells, cutting tracks, and repairing dams torn away from their footing by floods.

An epic achievement that matches the Trans-Saharan, the Green Dam, after review and alterations dictated by the latter-day Algerian realism, remains a titanic undertaking that will benefit generations to come. It stands already as evidence that it is feasible to build an integrated development which, thanks of course to the minimal cost of young military manpower, need not necessarily cost huge sums of money. Reclamation of the desert is not going to come tomorrow, but already its inexorable advance has been forced to a halt.

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EGYPT

## LIVING CONDITIONS IN EMERGENCY HOUSING AREA DESCRIBED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by 'Izzah al-Wulayli and Ahmad 'Abd-al-Latif: "Al-Duwayqah: Exile for Innocent; 40,000 Citizens in Cairo Without Water, Electricity, Sewage, or Healthcare"]

[Text] Every morning 2 decisions are made in Qahirah al-Muizz for the administrative eviction of two of Cairo's old and dilapidated houses. Suddenly, their occupants become homeless. As for the homes that collapse suddenly on the heads of their occupants, these occupants also become homeless, but without official decisions from Cairo Governorate.

Cairo Governorate has allocated an "emergency housing area" for those who join the army of people searching for a refuge in Cairo prior to supplying them with housing. This area is called al-Duwayqah and it includes all the unfortunate whose homes have collapsed or which the authorities concerned have decided to demolish.

In this area, these people live on the brink of hell, without any health or social care and next to thieves, criminals, and drug traffickers. Their stay in the area goes on for long years, even though the period set for their stay there is 6 months only, because of the government's inability to supply them with permanent housing.

### Where Is al-Duwayqah

Al-Duwayqah is located on the outskirts of Cairo at a place called Manshiyat Nasir and it is bordered by Salah Salim Street and the express autostrad. This area, which houses those whose houses have collapsed or who have been evicted by an administrative decree, is divided into three sections according to the construction style of the housing units existing in each section:

The first section contains a number of single rooms, each housing a family.

The second section contains a number of two-story buildings, each floor consisting of a single room and housing two families.

The third section is semi-deserted because it is a center of drug traffickers and criminals.

There are in al-Duwayqah 3,500 housing units in which nearly 7,000 families (or more than 40,000 citizens) live. Al-Duwayqah is deprived of everything and the inhabitants find it extremely difficult to get drinking water because there is a single public water fountain in each section. This has forced the inhabitants to drill a hole in the waterline and install a second fountain to stop the crowding around the single orphaned fountain that serves thousands of the area's inhabitants. A large number of the inhabitants are deprived of electricity and use gas lamps.

The area has a single toilet room around which hundreds of the inhabitants gather to perform their bodily functions. The area does not, of course, have any sewage.

#### Conditions for Residence in al-Duwayqah

Al-Duwayqah inhabitants are supposed to be temporary guests who spend 6 months in the area after the collapse of their homes until the government can find them permanent housing. People whose houses have collapsed welcome the stay in the area, especially since graveyards and tin shacks are filled to overflowing with inhabitants.

But a large number of the area's inhabitants have been living in the area for several years because of the government's inability to provide them with alternative housing. Some of them refuse to leave al-Duwayqah, having spent money to improve the rooms housing them.

Saniyah Dhikra, a high school student, has said with an overwhelming sense of despair that she has been living in the area with her father since 1983 and that the governorate has not found them a house yet.

Isma'il Khalaf, a mechanic: I have been living with my mother and my sisters in a single room for 4 years and no reasonable housing has been given us yet.

#### Healthcare Is Luxury

As for healthcare, it is a luxury unknown to the inhabitants of the emergency housing area, even though their living conditions dictate that they be given such care because of the unavailability of drinking water and sewage. There is no healthcare unit serving the area's inhabitants, excluding a very small and modest unit consisting of two rooms and belonging to the Ministry of Social Affairs, not the Ministry of Health.

All the government has offered these destitute people is merely a big sign hung over an abandoned place in which mice roam freely and from which emanates the stench of decay--a sign saying: Treatment Clinic--Ministry of Health.

Tamrhinnah al-Shaf'i has said that she lost her 7-month old infant because of the lack of treatment units in the area.

The same applies to security care. During our tour of the area, we found a wooden shack built against a tree trunk so that it might not collapse. When we approached the shack, we found that it was a police station in which a number of policemen were sitting. One of those policemen did not even know the area's name.

Su'ad Abu Khalaf said that she has been forced to stop sending her children to school for fear of what may lurk on the way, especially since she has children who go to evening school and since the area becomes totally isolated from the world after sunset.

Nabilah Khalid, a housewife, said that she cannot leave the house after sunset for fear of the gangsters who are found everywhere around them.

Sa'd al-Tarazi said that he is compelled to leave his college early and to forego some important lectures for fear of getting to his home in al-Duwayqah after sunset because of the gangsters. He has actually been assaulted and robbed upon his return to his home.

The efforts of the Ministry of Social Affairs in the area are more evident. There is a very modest building used as an office for an association controlled by the Ministry of Social Affairs. Most of this association's activities are suspended at present. What remains is a course for sewing and a nursery. The illiteracy-eradication classes have been closed because they are a free service that brings the association no benefit.

It is interesting that the Ministry of Social Affairs has not paid the wages of this association's employees since 1983, thus forcing the association chairman to pay these wages from the revenues of the medical care unit belonging to the association. Consequently, the association has turned into a commercial project instead of supplying the area's inhabitants with social and cultural aid and services.

It is also interesting that there is a family-planning center in the area, as if all other services and facilities have been supplied to the area's inhabitants and as if all they lack is to plan their families.

#### Officials Refuse to Talk

We went to the head office of al-Wayli District within whose jurisdiction al-Duwayqah falls to ask about the district's role toward the area and to find out what services it has supplied the al-Duwayqah inhabitants.

But they refused at the office to answer any question on the pretext of "security," as if the living conditions of al-Duwayqah inhabitants are a military secret.

What is ironic is that one of the office's top officials admitted that he does not know the location of al-Duwayqah area.



When we asked the engineer concerned with al-Wayli District housing about the projects offered to the area, he said: The district's next plan calls for building a fence around the area's school.

During the conversation, a young engineer who insisted on not revealing his name, said that al-Duwayqah area is not fit for the construction of a residential town because it is difficult to build a sewage project there.

The officials evaded answering a number of other questions by saying that such matters fall within the jurisdiction of Cairo Governorate.

This is why we headed for Cairo Governorate in the hope of interviewing any official on the conditions of al-Duwayqah inhabitants.

But the governorate officials, like the officials of the district's main office, refused to answer our questions.

8494/12955  
CSO: 4504/251

EGYPT

# POLITICAL VETERANS ANALYZE PAST, PRESENT POLITICS

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 27 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Samiyah 'Abd-al-Raziq: "Men for All Ages: Seven Political Personalities Explain How They Continued in Political Action from The Days of The King Up to Now"]

[Text] We apologize at the outset if the title of this report gives the wrong idea. Our purpose is not to malign any of those who were kind enough to share their opinion with us and answer our questions, for we hold every one of them in high regard.

Specifically, our thesis was that pre-revolution rule was unlike post-revolution rule. Even under the revolution, 'Abd-al-Nasir, for example, was different from al-Sadat, and Mubarak is different from both of them. Nonetheless, in our political and public life, we have personalities who have been closely associated with positions of power in all these ages or have adopted positions and formed alliances incompatible with their past or declared principles.

Certainly every one of these personalities has his own logic for his actions which people may label as opportunist or parvenu while he sees them as a logical sequence of events.

Therefore, we chose a number of personalities to whom we addressed one specific question: How do you explain this position of yours?

We are publishing their answers to this question exactly as they were presented to us, leaving it up to the readers to draw their own conclusions while re-emphasizing that we hold everyone of them in high regard.

'Alawi Hafiz, People's Assembly Deputy for the New Wafd Party: "Yes, I Change and I Uphold the Objective."

I am a citizen who serves the country under political conditions that change as the weather changes daily from cold to warm and from clear to foggy. But I uphold the objective which is to serve the country through a public issue. When I feel that the sponsors of the public issue are abusing it or exploiting it for their personal interests, I immediately renounce them and go my own basic way. This has been the case with regard to my political path.

When I was a high school student, I was close to the Muslim Brotherhood and was keen on attending Shaykh Hasan al-Banna's classes.

My father was a member of the Wafd Party and used to take me to its headquarters. I was fascinated by such personalities as al-Nahhas who influenced my life. When the Wafdist student committee was formed at the school, I became a member. I used to like oratory and used to identify myself with al-Banna and al-Nahhas.

I enrolled in the War College through a Wafd leader and joined the Free Officers. After the revolution, I joined the National Guard, the Liberation Rally [the first political party formed by 'Abd-al-Nasir], the National Union, the Socialist Union, and the Vanguard Organization.

I left politics after the 1967 defeat, but returned at the request of President al-Sadat as the organization's secretary in the Arab Socialist Union which was the number three position in the political pyramid. However, I disagreed with al-Sadat and stayed home. I returned to politics after his death as a member of the New Wafd Party. I do not regard this a contradiction.

Ahmad Taha, People's Assembly Deputy for the New Wafd Party, a Marxist and Former Member of the Socialist Union:

With regard to the key issue, democracy or the right of all forces to express themselves in an orderly manner, the existence of shortcomings in Egyptian political life must be acknowledged. For example, we have the Muslim Brotherhood and the communists as effective political forces in political life which are still deprived of the right of orderly and independent expression.

As for my personal experience and my relationship with existing organizations with which I may or may not agree, I state forthwith that I have never been forced in my political life to adopt a program or a policy that did not agree with my basic ideology.

We are all aware that in the sixties the Socialist Union was a large receptacle for all political forces, regardless of their differences, and was the only political organization at that time. I was forced to join it then to run for the National Assembly. I embarked on a struggle against Socialist Union elements in order to perform my parliamentary role, a stance I maintained until the platforms were formed.

I remained independent and was the first one to sign for creating the Grouping platform, but, for political reasons, I withdrew my signature the night the platform was announced, thus maintaining my independence.

In 1983, the election by slate law was enacted and, due to the fact that all opposition parties, save for the Ummah Party, boycotted the local council elections, and in view of my conviction of the importance of these elections, we were forced to run for an Ummah Party slate in al-Sahil district and succeeded in defeating the National Party.

After that, the time for the People's Assembly elections came and my view was that the opposition had three options only: a unified slate, a unified boycott, or ruin. I succeeded in putting together a unified slate, but was faced with the requisite of a party through which to run for the elections. I received an official letter from the Wafd Party leader inviting me to run on the Wafd Party slate with assurances that I could maintain my political views and affiliation. Indeed, my electoral statements on the basis of which I ran for the elections defended my general convictions with regard to Egypt's problems.

All my alliances did not conflict with my ideology. I was the only elected member to vote against abrogating the Egyptian-Soviet treaty and one of 13 deputies who voted against Camp David.

Kamal al-Shadhili, Organization Secretary of the NDP: "This is not Parvenu. I Am Elected by the People."

All organizations are revolutionary organizations. I have had the honor of participating in all the popular organizations of the July Revolution, from the day I was graduated from the Cairo University School of Law up until now.

I say this on the basis that every political organization, whatever its name may be, from the outbreak of the revolution up until the establishment of parties, has had its own political, social, and economic orientation and has fulfilled its role at the right time and in accordance with circumstances and climates prevailing at the time.

Many of those who were active in these organizations belong now to various parties, each according to his political orientation. We operated within the NDP in its capacity as the middle-of-the-road party because it represented the center trend as well.

I do not consider my 29-year political career a kind of parvenu or a desire to stay in power because I am elected by the people.

Furthermore, my staying in politics is not a contradiction because there is no contradiction whatsoever in the revolution's ideology in the sense that every stage has its own special features. In 'Adb-al-Nasir's time, the size of the population was different and the GNP was also different, hence the different economic policy. Al-Sadat applied the open-door policy after the special features of his stage changed and adopted various other policies as well because the challenges he faced in his time were different. As for leaving Mizr Party, despite the fact that it represented the center, the reason was the merger with the National Party on the part of the politburo which is considered the highest authority.

Moreover, the reason I have stayed in the NDP up till now is because I consider this stage as the one for realizing the sixth principle of the July Revolution, namely the establishment of sound democracy, which means views and counterviews and freedom of thought because Egypt's problems cannot be solved without democracy.

Jalal al-Hamamsi: "I Am a Liberal Journalist Who Adheres to His Views."

Jalal-al-Din al-Hamamsi, the journalist, used to be a Wafdist, but left the party with Makram 'Ubayd to form the Wafdist bloc. Following the outbreak of the revolution, he left the bloc to assume the position of editor-in-chief of AL-TAHRIR magazine, then published his book, "Dialogue From Behind the Walls," in which he criticized 'Abd-al-Nasir post-humously.

"My criticism of 'Abd-al-Nasir was an answer to the question about his reasons for firing me from AL-AKHBAR in January 1961. The firing was triggered by rage over my articles. My support of the revolution began when it broke out and ended with my disagreement with it.

"This is a natural position. Support at the outset does not mean continuous support, even when mistakes are made. This position of mine means that I am proceeding on the right path.

"I used to be a Wafdist, but when Makram 'Ubayd and his bloc disagreed with the Wafd, I quit. When Makram 'Ubayd restored his relationship with the Wafd, I disagreed with him because the reasons that led to the writing of the "Black Book" were still there.

"I supported the revolution like any other Egyptian who sees it as a means of expressing better things, including putting an end to corruption. When I saw that this failed to materialize, I disagreed and still do with all those who do not combat corruption. By corruption, I do not mean dishonesty only, but rather corruption in all its forms."

Mustafa Kamil Murad, Liberal Party Leader: "I Am a Professional Politician."

Political programs change in accordance with social and economic developments. Programs are based on domestic or foreign conditions that influence society. Lethargy is not in the nature of politicians. Consequently, political parties must develop their programs in accordance with changes in society.

I am a party founder and a participant in the July Revolution. I have been elected to parliament and have participated in all political organizations because I am a professional politician.

Developments in society are quite apparent. The revolution defined and regulated the relationship between landlord and tenant by seven times the tax, but change necessitated a reexamination of this situation. Today, change necessitates yet another reexamination.

What I mean to say is that circumstances force us to change. Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi: "This Is a Natural Evolution, Not a Contradiction."

Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, former minister of education, was in public service before the revolution and supported the old Wafd Party because it was the one struggling for independence and the ouster of the king and the British. After the revolution, he joined all political organizations established at



the time. He represented Egypt in UNESCO, then assumed the position of secretary general of the Supreme Universities' Council and worked as a university professor. He joined the Misr Party and recently the National Party. He says:

"This is a natural evolution and not a contradiction. When we were young university students before the revolution, we had our own view of the rule which we had sentenced to collapse. When the revolution broke out, it was natural that we should consider ourselves as part of it and, therefore, our position was different than that of a spectator or a referee because we were an active part of the Egyptian national movement and the pan-Arab movement.

"Through the revolution we shared in its positive aspects through the process of construction, liberation, and non-alignment in order to confront aggression against us.

"Then came the October 1973 victory which completed the revolutionary journey.

"I believe that each stage has its own special nature. When the revolution broke out, it was facing a monarchy and its goal was to change society. Then al-Sadat came to complete the change.

"For instance, if we consider compulsory education a revolutionary gain guaranteed by the constitution, the 1971 constitution provides for an extension of the mandatory period and this is an extension of Dr Taha Husayn's process when he said that education is a right. The revolution made university education free of charge.

"I consider myself an ordinary individual in the national process who puts the people's right above himself through his public service. I consider my continuation as a natural evolution. Every stage has its own traits and characteristics, but there are fundamentals for national action whereby citizens can work for Egypt's development and progress."

Ahmad al-Khawajah: "I Do Not Approve of the National Party and Do Not Work Through the Wafd."

Ahmad al-Khawajah, head of the Bar Association, used to be a Wafdist before the revolution. He worked in politics through the Socialist Union and the Vanguard Organization. Today, he is a member of the New Wafd Party.

"I live among the people. There is no doubt that the prerevolution Wafd Party used to be the political organization that took upon itself the leadership of the national struggle for independence which it maintained until the outbreak of the revolution.

"After the revolution, political parties were dissolved and, between 1952 and 1961, I did not practice politics through the Liberation Rally or the National Union. I practiced it, however, through the Socialist Union after the features of political action became positively defined.

"My interest lay in national action.

"I do not see a contradiction in working in politics through the old Wafd or the Socialist Union because the revolution was a subsequent stage and not a contemporary of the Wafd Party.

"I do not see any contradiction between the old Wafd and the New Wafd course because it is still the only party that represents a class ideology and includes all classes.

"The basic issue in the Wafd Party in its modern stage is democracy and human rights. The Wafd, with its old heritage and history, is most able to grasp these meanings.

"Therefore, I do not see a conflict between my ideology and my membership in the Wafd Party. However, I do not engage in organizational practice through it because my responsibility through the Arab Bar Federation and the [Egyptian] Bar Association is a national one that has no room for party conflicts.

"If revolutionary governments, from 23 July up till now, have not followed one economic or political course, this means that political organizations created by the revolution were not a fixed philosophy, but indeed each of them had its own philosophy. Undoubtedly, the pivotal point of political action at the current stage is the Arab-Israeli conflict which is a controversial issue and I do not agree with the NDP course in this regard.

"As for the existence of an application form in my name in the NDP, let them ask those who submitted it to them. If I were a member of the National Party, I would have been placed in its front ranks. During the Socialist Union stage, I was a member of its general secretariat, which comprised its central committee's secretariat, and chairman of the National Assembly's legislative committee. I fully agree with the national ideology on the July Revolution."

AL-JUMHURIYAH asked political science, sociology, and history professors to comment on this phenomenon. So what did they have to say?

Al-Sayyid Yasin

Four Factions

Al-Sayyid Yasin, president of the Center for Political and Strategic Studies Center [of AL-AHRAM], said:

There are distinctions between four political factions: the politicians, the trend setters, the educated, and the bureaucrats and technocrats. The situation is different with regard to each of these factions. Let us begin with the last one. Let us imagine that a bureaucrat is one that works within any system because he is a policy implementer rather than a policy maker.

An employee works within a royalist system and carries on the same work under a republican system.

The technocrat is like an engineer or technician who serves under different political systems unless he is forced to engage in practices that conflict with his belief in his mission or harms the public interest.

The problem, as I see it, lies in the politicians because a politician, according to the academic definition, is supposedly loyal to a set of basic values tied to a specific basic system in which he believes. When the system changes, it is logical that he not cooperate with the new system. In the presence of political multi-lateralism, he assumes a stance of opposition, but, in the absence of such a situation, he must halt his activity and must not turn into an opportunist. If he deals with the new developments, this is the purest form of political opportunism.

This brings us to the last state: the educated and the trend setters. Herein emerges the problem of ideological change which may befall the educated people with time as a result of their personal or historic experiences that lead them to shift positions. This is not considered a kind of opportunism.

I am not one to allow myself to judge whole factions. We can, however, distinguish between political types.

The purely opportunist type is one that is always ready to cooperate with any political system, even if it conflicts with his ideology, in pursuit of political and material gains and a presence in the arena.

The critical type who is quite the opposite and who refuses to cooperate with a political system unless its principles and thoughts meet his minimum values.

There are in-between types, some of whom tend toward opportunism and work in all ages, while others lean toward the critical view. We are thus able to evaluate those who work in public service.

Dr Yunan Rizq

"There Are Many "Lamlumis" in Our Political Life"

Dr Yunan Labib Rizq, professor of contemporary history at 'Ayn Shams University:

I distinguish between two types: the one who worked in politics, then assumed positions directly or closely related to politics, such as 'Abd-al-Rahman Fahmi in 1924 who was secretary of the Wafd Party and head of the labor federation created by the Wafd to control the labor movement. I do not consider this as holding two jobs.

Likewise, Makram 'Ubayd held two positions: head of the Bar Association and secretary of the Wafd. This is acceptable because it falls within the

framework of party action to control a highly-influential union at that time. They were the leaders of political action and, therefore, it was natural at the time to find Makram 'Ubayd as the Wafd secretary, the head of a union, and a minister in the Wafd cabinet. This example does not represent a contradiction because this was all well-balanced.

The second type is the one who works under any system or organization. This kind existed before and after the 1952 Revolution.

There were those who started out with the Wafd, then switched to the Constitutional Liberals, then to the People's Party which was formed by the King, such as Salih Lamhum who, in 10 years, switched 6 times to more than one party. He was a Wafdist when the Wafd was in power, then he became a Constitutional Liberal, a populist and a unionist when these parties assumed power.

This type is still in existence, even after the revolution. We find those who started out with the Liberation Rally switched to the National Union, the Socialist Union, the Misr Party, and the NDP. This means that there are many "Lamhums" if we are to consider Salih Lamhum as a phenomenon.

The explanation of this phenomenon is linked to the people's perception of politics in Egypt.

Politics in the advanced world is basically a public service, while in Egypt it is basically a public power and an exercise of power.

I do not want to generalize, but those who switch from one party to another do not view the issue through the principles, but rather through the opportunities and powers which it affords them. This matter is bound to a job, be it an executive one in the cabinet or a legislative one, such as a deputy.

We also find that the concept of a job is different in Egypt. It does not mean public service, but rather public power. Consequently, we find that a deputy hopes for personal interests and personal service and offers nothing to his constituency. This phenomenon existed before the revolution in that a parliamentary seat meant a means for personal gain. This was used when Isma'il Sidqi abolished the 1923 constitution in 1930, using this phenomenon as an excuse for his action.

But, this does not preclude the existence of some elements who understand political and party action as a way of achieving the programs and, therefore, these groups operate on the basis of principle.

If we are to go into the classification process, I imagine that there is a large percentage of those working in the political field who can be classified as "professional politicians." This group is always seeking to attain power through any channel in a belief that power can realize private and public interests.

The existing political system which allows the continual presence of a ruling party allows this current to get strong and sees no objection to joining it in order to achieve private and public interests.

There is another current which mostly includes groups who worked in politics before the revolution, such as the Wafd, or after the revolution, such as the Labor Party and the Grouping Party. These are an extension of a group that operates on an ideological basis and are professional politicians who do not seek personal interests.

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SUDAN

TRIPOLI RADIO REPORTS REACTION TO UNION WITH LIBYA

LD122159 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 1140 GMT 12 Apr 86

[Voice of the Revolutionary Committees]

[Text] Popular and official circles in fraternal Sudan have welcomed the unionist proposal of the great Fatih revolution. The Arab Libyan unionist delegation which is currently visiting Sudan has held several meetings with popular and official leaderships focusing on the unity project and ways of carrying it out. Here are more details in the following news report:

General 'Abd al-Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab, chairman of the Transitional Military Council in Sudan, has affirmed that without unity there is no future for this nation, pointing out that when based on a popular foundation unity will succeed. When he received the Arab Libyan unionist delegation, Gen Siwar al-Dhahab expressed his solidarity with, and support for the unionist project proposed by the brother leader of the revolution, describing it as practical for the realization of an Arab cohesive unity which would be considerably taken into account.

Speaking about the proposal for Arab unity submitted by the Arab Libyan unionist delegation, Gen Siwar al-Dhahab said that the issue of Arab unity is the objective of all Arab sides, and if there were Arab unity there would not be such perdition.

Gen Siwar al-Dhahab expressed gratitude for and appreciation of the brother leader of the revolution, saying: Colonel al-Qadhdhafi has been personally eager, and he came to Sudan to support the popular revolution. He added: In fact, as I said before, no other people have stood by us as the Arab Libyans did together with their leadership, through moral and material support, by means of assistance caravans and participation in projects, coordination in international stances and reviving of joint projects, a matter that clearly underscores the extent of links between our people in Sudan and in the Jamahiriyyah. He has also expressed the hope that these projects will be realized.

Gen Siwar al-Dhahab also reaffirmed Sudan's principled and firm stand with the steadfast people of the Jamahiriyyah in the face of the imperialist conspiracies.

For his part Lieutenant General Muhamamd Tawfiq Khalil, member of the Transitional Military Council and chief of staff in Sudan, received the Arab Libyan Unionist Delegation in his office and discussed with them the project for unity and the way it should be realized.

News reports say that the sharp deterioration of Sudanese-Egyptian relations is because of the unionist trend with the Jamahiriyah now prevailing in the Sudanese streets, and the call for unity between Sudan and Libya. In a report from its Khartoum correspondent citing the Sudanese paper AL-AYYAM, London radio says that Egyptian television has refused to allow the Sudanese ambassador in Egypt to give an address on the occasion of the first anniversary of the revolution of the Sudanese people. The paper also says that Egyptian television has also refused to broadcast the documentary film on the uprising of the Sudanese people against the rule of the toppled regime of Appendaef Numayri on 6 April last year. The British radio has also stressed the welcome by Gen 'Abd al-Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab, chairman of the Sudanese Transitional Military Council, for the project for unity between the Arab people in Sudan and Libya. The radio also underscored the affirmations made by Sudanese Prime Minister Dr Al-Jazuli Daf'allah to the effect that this project will be submitted to the popular masses to approve it.

For its part the Sudanese News Agency (SUNA) has welcomed unity between the Jamahiriyah and Sudan. And heads of popular and official leaderships have also unanimously welcomed unity with the Jamahiriyah. This came at the meetings held by the Arab Libyan Unionist Delegation which is holding a series of contacts in Sudan to stress the eagerness of the Arab Libyan people to establish unity on a strong and solid foundation between the Arab people in Sudan and the Jamahiriyah.

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CSO: 4504/113

SUDAN

FOREIGN SOURCES ACCUSED OF AIDING GARANG

PM141516 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 9 Apr 86 p 1

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT correspondent report: "Garang Received Aid from World Council of Churches"]

[Text] Khartoum--Lieutenant General Muhammad Tawfiq Khalil, member of the Transitional Military Council [TMC] and chief of staff of the Sudanese Armed Forces, said that the mutineers known as the Sudanese People's Liberation Army [SPLA] under Colonel John Garang's leadership are still receiving continuing aid from foreign quarters. Lt Gen Khalil told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that, according to confirmed reports, Col Garang is receiving aid from the World Council of Churches [WCC]. These are not mere accusations, but true facts, he said, adding that this was observed from the demands made by Col Garang for the abolition of the Islamic Shari'ah, which is also a demand by the WCC. He said that all that Ethiopia can offer to do for Col Garang in its present economic situation is to allow him to use its territory as a base and a training center.

Lt Gen Khalil said that Garang cannot operate by relying on his own resources alone because he does not have sufficient resources and he could not depend on the population. The fact is that he is receiving aid from places 300 to 400 miles away. He is receiving air support and material support as well as manpower support.

Lt Gen Khalil accused certain organizations that hide behind relief programs and under various names of being involved in such support. He affirmed that the United States has officially informed Sudan that it has halted aid to it because it has failed to repay its debts.

On the other hand, Air Force General and TMC member Muhammad al-Mirghani told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT following his meeting with the Romanian ambassador in Khartoum on Monday morning that the Romanian Government has pledged to give Sudan fighter planes, missiles, and war materiel and pledges to send quantities of oil to the Sudanese Government as a gift in order to enable it to deal with its crisis.

/12232

CSO: 4504/113

SUDAN

BRIEFS

**SPLA OFFICERS PROMOTED**--The commander in chief of Sudan People's Liberation Army [SPLA] and chairman of Sudan People's Liberation Movement [SPLM] Provisional Executive Committee, Colonel Dr John Garang de Mabior, made the following appointments yesterday of two high-ranking SPLA officers to higher positions. Major (Salfatir), commander of SPLA Training Center, has been appointed deputy chief of staff for operations. SPLA-SPLM security and Major Arok Thuon Arok, zonal commander of southern Upper Nile and Equatoria administrative areas and SPLA-SPLM Political-Military High Command member, has been appointed deputy chief of staff for administration and logistics. The appointments were with effect as of yesterday. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 19 Mar 86 EA] /12232

**SOVIET AID**--The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with African and Asian Countries and the Soviet Peace Fund have decided to dispatch urgent aid to those affected by drought and desertification in Sudan. The aid includes 10,000 meters of fabric and blankets, foodstuffs, medicines and clothing estimated to be worth 20,000 Soviet rubles. The aid is expected to arrive tomorrow, Thursday [27 March]. It will be handed over to the commissioner for relief and rehabilitation. [Text] [Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 26 Mar 86 EA] /12232

**SAUDI OIL SHIPMENT**--Khartoum, 4 April (SUNA)--The second Saudi oil shipment given as aid to Sudan and amounting to 2,900,000 barrels arrived in Port Sudan recently. In a press statement, a responsible source with the General Corporation for Petroleum explained that shipments of 50,000 tons of oil will be arriving in the country in succession. He pointed out that the third shipment will arrive on 23 April. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1021 GMT 4 Apr 86 JN] /12232

**COMMERCIAL PROTOCOL WITH MOROCCO**--Khartoum, 10 April (SUNA)--Sudan and Morocco had agreed to activate the commercial protocol signed between the two countries in 1975 and renewal in 1982. Undersecretary of Commerce, Supply and Cooperation 'Umar al-Mubarak who returned yesterday from Morocco after participation in Casablanca Islamic Exhibition told SUNA. Al-Mubarak said that they discussed there the commercial cooperation between Sudan and Morocco, and the officials there expressed desire to import from Sudan camels, skins, sesame and cotton, and Sudan will import textiles, fruits, readymade clothes and shoes. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English 1017 GMT 10 Apr 86 JN] /12232

TAX ON EXPATRIATES--Khartoum, 12 April (SUNA)--The Transitional Military Council meeting under the chairmanship of General 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Jasan Siwar al-Dhahab today approved the Annual Compulsory National Contribution Law which applies to Sudanese working abroad. The law provides that the contributions shall be as follows: \$100 from workers, \$200 from employees, \$300 from university professors, and \$400 from businessmen. The law also provides that no other direct tax shall be levied on Sudanese working abroad and that these contributions shall be collected by the Alms and Income Tax Bureau. [Excerpt] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1730 GMT 12 Apr 86 JN] /12232

SUNA CRITICIZES 'FABRICATED' REPORT--Khartoum, 14 April (SUNA)--NEWSWEEK magazine has involved Sudan in the conspiracy which the Reagan administration is carrying out against Libya. In its latest issue, the magazine says that scores of Libyans had appeared in the streets of Khartoum in an attempt to frighten Americans. Undoubtedly, such fabricated reports indicate the multifaceted U.S. deviousness which creates illusions which are only good for U.S. consumption. [Excerpts] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1045 GMT 14 Apr 86 JN] /12232

BANDITS KILL 14--Khartoum, 20 April (SUNA)--At least 14 Sudanese people were killed and another four captured by Ethiopian bandits at Sudan's eastern Frontiers with Ethiopia. The Ethiopian bandits entered the border village of Barka Nurin, 250 km of al-Qadarif City, killing 14 businessmen, livestock owners and captured another 4 and took them into the Ethiopian territories. [sentence as received] The daily AL-AYYAM today cited a reporter in the said area. A force from the police and army troops in the area failed to reach the assailants who sped into the Ethiopian territories with the four kidnapped and a haul of 500,000 pound, the daily said. [sentence as received] The 14 victims were burnt to death in the night by the bandits. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English 0925 GMT 20 Apr 86 JN] /12232

CSO: 4504/113



BAHRAIN

RESIDENTS, OFFICIALS DISCUSS REGIONAL CONCERNS

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 26 Mar-1 Apr 86 pp 16-19

[Article by 'Uthman al-'Amir et al ]

[Text] The raven does not croak in Dilmun, and the wild chickens do not utter their cries, and the dove does not hang its head there. No one is known there who has an eye disease who says, "I suffer from an eye disease," and no one is known who has a headache and says, "I suffer from a headache."

That is Dilmun, as is told in the legend of Enki and (Tanhur Sag), a pure and unsullied land that does not know old age, and where the animals and birds live together.

It is not as Ghazi al-Qusaybi described it in his description of the Gulf: "O my ancient Gulf, you are like me, the years have punished you and me."

It is not as the Bahraini driver 'Abd-al-Rida sees it. He turned to me as he was driving his yellow and orange car and said in a voice as sad as the songs of the great Gulf artist Muhammad Zuwayd: "Imagine! I waited 4 and 1/2 hours until I got a customer. Two years ago we used to earn between 40 and 60 dinars a day, perhaps more. But now, as you see, 4 1/2 hours for four dinars!"

In the office of the minister of information Mr Tariq al-Mu'ayyid, who holds the post of acting minister of public works, a conversation takes place between him and a person on the telephone:

"There is nothing new. I have the business in front of me. But...."

"...."

"I will not sign a single contract until we are sure of our ability to pay."

"...."

"Please come and have tea. As for the project, wait until things have cleared up."

The minister puts the receiver down and comments, "That is what happens to me every day as minister of public works. We in Bahrain do not want to make financial commitments that we cannot carry out."

Many things have regressed in Bahrain to the point that people are talking about an economic crisis in the region, and that is a concern which is not far from a state like Bahrain in which there are dozens of banking offices, dozens of offices of financial representatives, and more than ten investment banks. In spite of the oldness of banking activity in Bahrain which goes back to 1920, it experienced amazing growth as the oil boom which hit the region heated up. Then when things began to get difficult, the banking issue became the foremost preoccupation of the Bahrainis.

How will this state confront the drying up of the flood of Gulf monies? What will it do with the high cement blocks for the hotels that were built overlooking the sea as an obvious attraction? Then, how might it face the likelihood of unemployment in Bahrain, which is now 3 to 5 percent according to unofficial statistics which are, nevertheless, very close to the sources of information?

#### An Unfamiliar Tune

This tune of unemployment might seem discordant in a region like the Gulf which attracts hundreds of thousands of workers, but it is the truth which is the consequence of bureaucracy and perhaps the lack of confidence in the citizen's qualifications, in addition to the feelings of satisfaction from using Asian workers in particular who are cheap and easily directed.

Even if Bahrain is not greatly threatened with a drop in population because of the existence of a society with roots, and a majority, that does not negate the fact that the presence of many spoken languages and of non-Arab types does not bring satisfaction to a visitor who wishes to see the Gulf region having been able to achieve a majority for its population over the incoming elements; this, especially since the central office for statistics, which has an official capacity, indicates that during the period from 1971 to 1981 the foreign population of Bahrain increased by 196 percent. Mr Yasir al-Nasir, a spokesman for the central office, in a report published by the Bahraini magazine AL-MAWAQIF, points to the fact that the foreign labor force is still growing, though it will decrease in the course of the next 20 years.

Many of the experts believe that there are many circumstances and problems that must be solved in order to bring about a lower rate of unemployment, if it is not possible to eliminate it. Perhaps the most important one is the speed-up in the substitution of the national workers with the foreign ones.

However, unemployment does not comprise a campaign by some of the well-qualified, including university graduates and the highly skilled, as a senior official told AL-MAJALLAH, to study and continue their higher education because of a lack of satisfaction with their employment level.

Many experts believe that the key to Bahrain's economic policy is diversification of the economy, especially since the country has great potential in the area of industrial activity, such as hydrocarbons, aluminum production, and ship repair, in addition to the stimulation of tourism which will increase and prosper after the bridge which links the city of al-Khubar in eastern Saudi Arabia to Bahrain is opened. This is the bridge that will link Bahrain to the land for the first time in its geologic history, a move that will be witnessed when it is officially opened next December, even though Saudi Arabia has moved hundreds of cars across the bridge, cars which carried soccer fans coming to cheer on their team playing in the opening Gulf round last Saturday.

This bridge is considered to be an important modern accomplishment to be added to the little bridges which Bahrain built to join its islands together. But the Bahrain-Saudi bridge in and of itself is considered a new move for the future of Bahrain and the size of its relations with Saudi Arabia which are growing day by day.

There does not appear to be anything on the horizon that would indicate that the government is determined to impose taxes on entry, even though the standard of living is harder than in some other countries. However, there is some possibility that some fees will be raised, such as those for passports, in addition to customs duties being raised.

#### The Future and Democracy

One of the most urgent issues facing the Bahrainis with regard to "Bahrain in the year 2000," and the future changes which it will bring in the area of population increase, is democracy, and the subsequent rapid movement into the era following the 20th century. The population, which is now more than 360,000 people, will rise to 613,953 in the year 2001. Bahrainis will be faced with the fact that they will be 62 percent of the total population, while the non-Bahraini population will be 38 percent. That is a problem for Bahrain, compared to its small habitable area (685 square kilometers), so there will come to be 512 people for every square kilometer.

Housing projects in Bahrain are outstanding, according to the deputy minister of housing Dr 'Abd-al-Latif Kanu, since it has pioneering experience in the area of housing. It founded Madinat al-Shaykh 'Isa, and recently it founded Madinat al-Shaykh Hamid Wali al-'Ahd, a beautiful city which Mr Kanu says is an experiment which has attracted many of the Gulf states to familiarize themselves with it so as to set up housing projects like it.

Once upon a time this enchanting island used to be a state the size of Babylonia and Assyria and it contained a large and prosperous market that supplied Mesopotamia with copper and luxury goods from the east being the fifth state in the ancient world. Indeed, it is older than Sumer itself, for it is the "legendary land of eternal life," according to what is mentioned in Assyrian records and the epic of Gilgamesh. Meanwhile, as Bahrain continues to face a population crunch, the urgent question remaining is what is the potential of the domestic situation, and what will be the repercussions of outside factors on it.

Naturally it should be mentioned that the country is still able to overcome many difficulties for the sake of ensuring internal stability. In spite of the talk about domestic and foreign factors causing tension in the region, the signs of peace and security are clearly evident in Bahrain. That becomes clear in the ease of movement and the lack of guards for officials who travel around in their private cars without security protection. Perhaps that is attributable first and foremost to the policy of a security belt surrounding the state, a policy that does not conflict with the distinctive values of social tolerance and religion that it has.

At a time when bookstores in Bahrain are full of various publications which contain the religious and sectarian currents existing in the region, and when officials allow books at the Arab Book Fair to circulate freely, Bahraini citizens belonging to the Jewish faith still enjoy the rights of citizenship and are working in the banking profession and in the banks in the oldest commercial districts in Bahrain, one of the signs of Islamic tolerance that has characterized Muslims since the earliest of times.

The Bahrain gate is evident, which failed to hide behind it Manamah's old market after its walls were torn down by building activity and expansion, but it has remained a witness to Bahrain's steadfastness, inasmuch as repairs and restoration work are being carried out to revive it as an archeological feature. Behind that famous gate historical wonders are still visible. As one of the signs of the national unity that everyone strives for, it boasts the beautiful voices of the muezzins periodically calling out in perfect harmony the call to prayer; then the movers of the economic market set out for the mosque, confirming their adherence to its values, in spite of their struggles with the battles of change.

#### The Bahraini Woman

The Bahraini woman also appears as an important factor in the economic activity of the country. The sight of women sellers in and out of the market gives an indication of the extent to which the Bahraini woman is participating in the process of development, especially when we consider that women's education began in 1928, in addition to the fact that women entered the field of nursing in 1941. Statistics indicate that the number of female workers in the state is now more than 8,000.

People still talk in whispers, and sometimes openly, about the events following independence, as well as the short-lived parliamentary experiment that has been suspended. While it is said that the chances of resuming it were brought up by those who make the political decisions, the realities of the region, primarily the Gulf war and its consequences, have made many citizens realize that the surrounding circumstances are not considered right for activating its recall. They are certain that there are other urgent issues that seem more obvious, especially since the prince of the country as well as senior officials are anxious to bring about the practice of democracy through open councils and meetings, and by encouraging dialogue in the newspapers and the media.



## Sixteen Years

Last Saturday, Shaykh 'Isa Ibn Salman Al Khalifah proclaimed the Arab Gulf soccer round to be open, 16 years after the opening of the first round in Bahrain on 27 March 1970. Notably absent from this round was Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Khalifah Al Khalifah, the current interior minister and chairman of the committee organized for the first Gulf session.

Between 1970 and 1986 Bahrain has experienced important events, from the time it affirmed its existence and achieved independence, and the time that the state succeeded in arguing for its rights and silencing the Iranian claims to its linking up to the land for the first time in its history. It has experienced a passage through the parliamentary experiment, economic prosperity, the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the phenomenon of social transformation and the appearance of problems, the shift to the Gulf war and its vast negative affects, to the economic recession and its other repercussions on Bahrain.

It is not possible to ignore these phenomena or to jump on them, just as it is not possible to do anything other than to start to move forward in a number of directions. This is what you will see in the councils being held, in the economic reports, and in the state of vigilance that Bahrain shares with its sister Gulf states following years of ease and luxury.

But Bahrain, in spite of this and for all that, from inside looks beautiful within the Gulf. Inside it many things are obvious: the buildings, the broad streets and the asphalt tongues that link its islands together and the decorative statues scattered about its public squares. Beautiful, little, gentle and civilized, it always smiles and meets difficulties with laughter. However, in spite of its small area, the simplicity of its geographic composition, and the fact that one can cross it in a short time, it seems that it is not as easy as has been pictured, nor is it as simple as has been imagined, because it hides things with a smile and amazing patience.

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CSO: 4404/281



IRAQ

## RIGHTS GROUP CITES REGIME'S POLITICAL PRISONERS

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Mar 86 p 3

[Article: "More than 100,000 Political Prisoners Are Held in 60 Iraqi Detention Centers"]

[Text] Mr Yves Laurin, a spokesman for the International Human Rights Federation [FIDH], has made some disturbing allegations about the human rights situation in Iraq in a presentation to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Mr Laurin also urged the commission to take up, on an urgent basis, the case of the two Iraqi opposition activists deported from France to Baghdad on 19 February. We publish below extensive extracts from his remarks:

"Assassinations, arrests, torture, abuse, summary executions--all these practices are widely employed in Iraq, where the law provides capital punishment for anyone who belongs to an Islamic movement or supports Islamicist ideas.

"In recent years, several dozen religious and political personalities have been assassinated...Two entire population groups have been especially singled out for discriminatory measures, detention, and execution--the Al-Hakim and Al-Barzani clans.

"In October 1985, several hundred people, including women, elderly individuals and children belonging to the Al-Barzani clan, were incarcerated in the prisons of Mossoul, Kirkouk and Arbil.

"Previously, in August and early September 1985, about a thousand Kurdish children aged 8 to 14 were arrested and interned in camps and prisons. In addition, the army is systematically destroying Kurdish villages--so far 80 have been razed--whenever a skirmish takes place in their vicinity.

"In early 1984, the village of Aldijal, in central Iraq, was entirely annihilated.

"Since 1983, 17 members of the Al-Hakim clan have been executed, and there is growing concern for the fate of the more than 70 members of the clan known to have been imprisoned, more particularly because the FIDH has never received

any answer to the inquiries it has twice presented--first in July and later in December 1985--to the Iraqi authorities...

"Although it is difficult to determine the precise number of political prisoners in Iraq, it is certain that the number being kept in the country's 60 detention centers exceeds 100,000.

"In that regard, it has been proven that numerous detainees are subjected to torture and inhumane treatment, and that summary executions of prisoners did take place in November 1985 in the prisons of Mossoul, Abou-Ghraib and Kirkouk. Finally, the Iraqi authorities are infringing on religious freedom, and so far they have shut down 86 religious centers, the heads of which have either been killed or exiled.

"Under such conditions, the decision of the French authorities on 19 February to deport two Iraqi political prisoners--Hamza Fawsi and Hassan Khair Al Din--back to their homeland put the lives of these exiles in peril, in complete disregard of the principles governing the right of asylum.

"According to information received by the FIDH, Hamza Fawsi was executed in Baghdad, after being arrested upon his arrival in Iraq.

"The Iraqi authorities, though denying the execution, have indicated that the two opposition activists might incur the death penalty.

"The FIDH urges the human rights commission to take up this question on an urgent basis and to intervene with the Iraqi government to obtain clarifications and the necessary assurances."

9516

CSO : 4419/16

IRAQ

## ASSESSING RESPONSIBILITY FOR EXPULSION OF PRISONERS

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Mar 86 p 3

[Article: "The Affair of the Two Deported Iraqis: Whose Fault Is It?"]

[Text] At the very least, it was a mistake: no one challenges that any more. But so far no one has been accused of being responsible for it. This is the strange anomaly that still surrounds the expulsion of the two Iraqi opposition activists to their homeland on 19 February. The continuing absence of any official statement from the Ministry of Interior does little to clear matters up, and Ms Madeleine Terrasson (the attorney for the two Iraqis), in turn, has decided to say nothing more herself, as if she had said too much. It is difficult to accept this idea of a mistake made by no one in particular, and in considering the various possible and suggested explanations, four versions stand out.

### The Iraqis Were Silent

This is the version of the Place Beauvau agencies, as described on Thursday by Mr Roland Dumas. After the terrorist attacks in Paris, on 12 February, some 64 individuals were interrogated by the DST, before a rogatory commission ordered by the examining magistrate, Mr Alain Marsaud. These interrogations led to 13 administrative deportation orders based on the "nature of the activities" of the subjects on French soil.

Among the 13 were four Iraqis. They opted for various "first choice" destinations, one for Paraguay, another for Tehran, two others for London. Great Britain refused. One of the Iraqis then asked to be sent to Syria, which was done. The one who had asked for Iran made timely--and successful--appeal to OFPRA for status as a "political refugee": he is currently living under residential restriction in France. The remaining two were Hamza Hadi Fawzi, who had asked to go to London, and Khair Al Din, who had wanted Paraguay.

According to the police, the two volunteered no "second choice" of destination after the countries in question refused their first choice request. Accordingly, say the police, it was proposed that they return to Iraq, and they gave no "indication of opposition" to this proposal. The same

agencies assert that they confirmed with the Iraqi embassy that these persons were not being "sought" by authorities in their own country. This version is disputed in its entirety by the advocate, who attests that 2 hours before their deportation his clients had clearly indicated their refusal to go back to Iraq. The police version also runs up squarely against a specific fact attested to on Thursday by the the minister of external relations. "The two men did not protest until they were actually boarding the airplane (Irakian Airlines)," according to Mr Roland Dumas. Ordinarily such last-minute refusals are carefully considered by the officials accompanying the deportees. That was not the case here.

#### The Attorneys Were Tardy

Although today everyone on all sides wants to tone down the polemics, the Ministry of Interior at first said that the defense attorneys had failed to alert the authorities in timely fashion. It is true that the appeal lodged by Mr Terrasson with the OFPRA was not filed until the day after the expulsions, although a similar appeal was filed in timely fashion for one of the other Iraqis. But the attorney maintains that on the eve of the deportation he informed Mr Bruno Genevois, the director of civil liberties and juridical affairs within the Ministry of Interior. Mr Genevois denies it and asserts that the subject of the fate of the two Iraqis never came up during that conversation.

However, this does nothing to explain away the basic issue: regardless of whether the lawyers acted competently, the ministry should have made its own assessment of the political standing of the two Iraqis. One of them, in fact, had already been arrested by the DST in 1982, after an attempted attack against the Iraqi embassy in Paris. The DST thus knew they were Shi'ite Iraqis, opponents of the regime headed by President Saddam Hussein. This was the very reason for their arrest and expulsion, since it was alleged, among other things, that they had translated Shi'ite propaganda texts into French for distribution among the immigrant population. So how does it happen that no one was concerned about sending the two back to Iraq, especially when it was DST officials who were accompanying them to the airport?

#### There Was Negligence at Agency or Cabinet Level

This is the theory accepted by the broadest cross-section of our interlocutors. The climate in which the deportations took place--a response to terrorist attacks in Paris--was responsible for the failure of individuals at various levels of the bureaucracy to fully assess the political dimension of the affair. The issues of the French hostages in Lebanon, the Iran-Iraq war, were not necessarily uppermost in everyone's mind. The politicians may not have been able to understand the Iraqis or may not have wanted to; the cabinet did not closely follow the step-by-step unfolding of the deportation drama; this was a terrible mistake. But there is still a mystery: why did Mr Pierre Joxe, who usually is not at all forgiving of bureaucratic mistakes, refuse to spell out clearly where responsibility rested? Because there was also negligence on the part of cabinet members or the national leadership?

## **It Was An Ugly Gesture**

The final theory, seductive because it would explain the ministry's embarrassment about the affair, is one not taken seriously by the various players. Could members of one of the police services, somewhat frustrated by the results of the 12 February police sweep, have acted on the solicitations of the Iraqi embassy and decided it would be expedient to make an example of the two Iraqis, without thinking about the consequences for the French hostages in Lebanon? Or were certain DST officials convinced that these Iraqi opposition types were actually "infiltrators," working for their country undercover within the Shi'ite opposition refugee population in France? And, believing that this was so, wanted to send them back to their employer, despite their denials? And if so could they have been wrong? A speculative version, difficult to accept, and moreover denied by Mr Roland Dumas.

9516

CSO : 4419/16



ISRAEL

INTERVIEW WITH COMMANDER OF TANK MAINTENANCE CENTER

Tel Aviv BAMAHAANE in Hebrew No 29, 13 Mar 86 p 53

[Text] What distinguishes the Tank Maintenance and Retrofitting Center from other units that employ IDF workers?

The center is the largest unit in the army that employs IDF workers, and the number of civilians in it, both in absolute terms and relative to the IDF workers, is the highest, a ratio of more than 90 percent.

The center encompasses a very wide range of technologies and employs a very wide range of workers starting from those engaged in simple industrial work, painting and cleaning, to heavy metal workers over the entire spectrum, and ending with engineers and technicians dealing with electronics and electro-optics.

The center is an inseparable part of the IDF maintenance system and therefore cannot be detached from the army and turned into a civilian or semi-civilian plant. But what is special about it is not the fact that it is a military unit. What I see as special is its structure, goal, organization, labor methods, and the manpower employed in it; it is an industrial plant in every way. In that it is different from units that also employ civilians but function like any other military unit.

Then how do you see the man who heads the center?

The center's commander is in uniform and is every inch a commander. Beyond that, in my opinion, he must have the prerequisite characteristics of a commander. The insignia of rank on our shoulders make very little impression on the civilians who work with us. It takes management tools to lead them. What matters in the center is not orders, but the personal capabilities and the personalities of the managers at every level and rank. In my opinion they must be people who are skilled in industrial management, who have mastered the technologies, and people at a high personal level with organizational ability.

What part do the workers take upon themselves in this entire system?

From the point of view of the civilian workers, in its routine the center is an industrial plant and work place like any other. It is not unique for being a part of the army, and, as a plant that employs many hundreds of civilian workers, from any other industrial plant in the metals, electronics, or optics sector. Whatever you have in those other places also exists at the center,

and the employer-employee relationships are like those in any other industrial plant.

On the other hand, in all of Israel's wars, the contribution of the center, of its soldiers, and in particular, of its civilians, was significant. They knew how to rise to the occasion and work like soldiers in every way, above and beyond the daily routine.

Does the army have a problem in digesting such a system of relationships?

There is apparently a kind of contradiction in this continuing contact between the military system, in uniform, and the civilian one that works under a different set of rules. On the surface they appear antagonistic, but because we have always worked that way, I did not see any problem in it during my tenure at the center.

I think that despite the anomalies inherent in employer-employee relationships between those in uniform who are subject to the authority of a very particular system and someone who is not in uniform, it is an excellent system of relationships and it characterizes not just the center, but all IDF workers wherever they may be. Any manager of a plant as large as the center would be proud and satisfied to live in the harmony with which we live with our workers.

There are workers representatives at the center at a very high level. These are people with a conscience, with ethics, and honesty who know how to represent their workers' problems with pride and, at the same time, well understand the problems of the system. Their ability to bridge these two poles, which usually really are contradictory, is one of the reasons for the labor tranquility that we have had down through the years. By virtue of the character and ability of those workers' representatives, we have managed to get through the recent difficult period of the last 2 years with no real upset. When I speak about the workers' representatives, I would start with the secretary of the IDF workers' organization, with whom I had excellent relations. The door was always open in both directions, and we were able to broach any subject that came up and solve it while it was still small. Then there were the regional secretaries with whom I worked and, finally, the workers' councils and the workers themselves, down to the very last man.

How did you handle the need to fire a large number of workers?

A manager has no greater fear and I say this from experience from having had to deal with firings. When we were hit with the directive at the end of 1984 to fire 10 percent of the center's workers, I was in total panic. We did not know how to begin to do it and there was no one to ask. I convened the workers' councils and gave them very long lectures for more than an hour about what was going to happen. I told them that this time it was true: nothing would help and we would have to fire people. From the look of those 30 people sitting before me and, apparently, also from the expression on my own face, we all began to understand just how serious it was. But there was also a certain challenge for all of us to carry out the task, to continue producing everything that we had to produce, and to do it all while ejecting dozens of people with a minimum of disturbance.

I could have acted in the simple, accepted way that is protected by all the laws known as "last in, first out," but the situation at the center was such that had I done that we would have been cutting off the branch we were sitting on with our very own hands. We would have struck at the heart of the center, at the infrastructure, at people that we managed to bring in only with great effort over several long years and with the most sophisticated specializations. Therefore, on the advice of the workers' councils, we decided to proceed in the manner that we had outlined jointly with the organization of secretaries, which was to look at a number of populations and thus get by without disruptions.

We were talking about people who could take an early retirement and people who would agree to being fired with suitable compensation. We began to negotiate with the workers. I gathered all the workers who were 60 or above, a fair number of workers, and together with the head of the employment center we spoke to them directly and explained that we could permit them an honorable retirement and the capability of supporting themselves decently. On the other hand, every one of them who would not go would obligate us to remove someone else, someone who could not be guaranteed anything.

In that way, and over a period of time that amounted not to a month but to more than a year, we managed to reduce the population of those 60 and above and to give an early retirement to several dozen people with their full agreement. That was the simple side of the matter. The more complicated side was to draw up lists of people whom we were prepared to cut, to coordinate them with the committees, and to get the workers' agreement. In the beginning there was little response. But there arrived a certain moment that I cannot put my finger on when everyone understood that there was no choice. One way or another we would have to reduce the work force by a large number. Then the local secretaries and the chairmen of the workers' councils got down to work, and they were actually our representatives among the workers. In my opinion they did a fantastic job.

I really appreciate those representatives who understood that if they did not succeed in persuading those workers who wanted, or had an inclination to leave, we would have had to get rid of workers who had no such inclination. In that way we were able to get by with early retirements and agreed-upon firings of dozens of people and still maintain the best people who would form the strong basis for continuing the development of the center. I think that this was a joint accomplishment of management and the workers' councils, and was perhaps the crown jewel in the cohabitation of the military system with the organization of workers who are not subject to military regimen. I certainly see it as an accomplishment for management that we were able to explain ourselves and to bring about a situation in which the workers' organization and workers' councils were harnessed to our wagon and helped us. I think that they did outstanding work, and in general the chairmen of the

workers' councils and regional secretaries deserve a lot of compliments for the work that they did in the field.

9794

CSO: 4423/105

ISRAEL

NEW 14.5 MM ARTILLERY EXPECTED TO SAVE THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew No 29, 13 Mar 86 p 7

[Article by Ronit Pori'an: "Something New in Artillery: 14.5 MM Instead of 155"]

[Text] A new ranging system in the artillery corps, using smaller artillery, will result in a savings of thousands of dollars in the cost of training, according to a report to BAMAHAHE by the chief artillery officer Oded Tiro.

The crown jewel in the training system is a 14.5mm diameter gun that, at the stage of the initial ranging exercises, will replace the 155mm or 120mm shells that were used until now in the artillery corps in all ranging exercises. The gun was developed with the cooperation of the artillery corps research department of the training division.

The cost of every shell in the small gun is just \$3 as compared to the \$400 cost of the shell in the regular guns. Its dimensions are ten times smaller than those of the regular shell. Correspondingly, in the firing fields a range is being built that is ten times smaller in area than conventional ranges and which was dedicated this week by the students in the all-services officers course.

The chief artillery officer added that the training on the simulator will continue to constitute a preparatory stage to field exercises. Thus the students will carry out ranging on the big guns immediately after training on the small gun.

The exercises on the new gun were intended mainly for artillery communications officers and observation officers who have to estimate distances and activate artillery fire.





... והמנוי



... התותח

צילם: יוסי צבקר

## חדש בתותחנים: 14.5 בלקום 155

המפקדים הכללי-חילי.

הקצמ"ר חוסי, כי האימונים בסימולטור ימשיכו לתוח שלב מכין לקראת אימוני השטח. כן יבצעו התניכים טיווח בתותחנים הגדולים, מיד לאחר האימון ב" תותח העזיר.

האימונים בתותח החדש נז" עדו בעיקר לקציני קישור אר" טילריים וקציני התצפית, האמו" רים לאמוד מרחקים. ולהפעיל אש ארטילרית.

עד כה כל אימוני הטייווח בחיל התותחנים. והתותח פותח כשי" תוף חיל התותחנים, מחלקת ה" מחקר במה"ד.

עלותו של כל פגז בתותח ה" ועזיר, מסתכמת בשלושה דולרים בלבד, לעומת 400 דולר עלות הפגז בתותחנים הרגילים. מימדיו קטנים פי עשר מגודל הפגז ה" מקובל. גם בשיטות האש נבנה מיטוח, שהיקפו קטן פי עשר כשטחי המיטוחים הרגילים ו" שאותו הנכו השבוע תניכי קורס

— מאת רונית פוריאן —

שיפת טיווח חדשה כדיל ה" תותחנים, בתותחנים נוספים, תביא להיסכון בחיפוי של אלפי דולרים בעלות האימונים — כך ספר ל"במחנה" קצין תותחנים ראשי, תא"ל קודר פירה. גולת הכותרת במערך האימו" נים היא הותח בקוטר 14.5 מ"מ, שיחליף בשלבי אימוני הטייווח הראשוניים את תותחי ה"155 מ"מ או 120 מ"מ, בהם נעשו

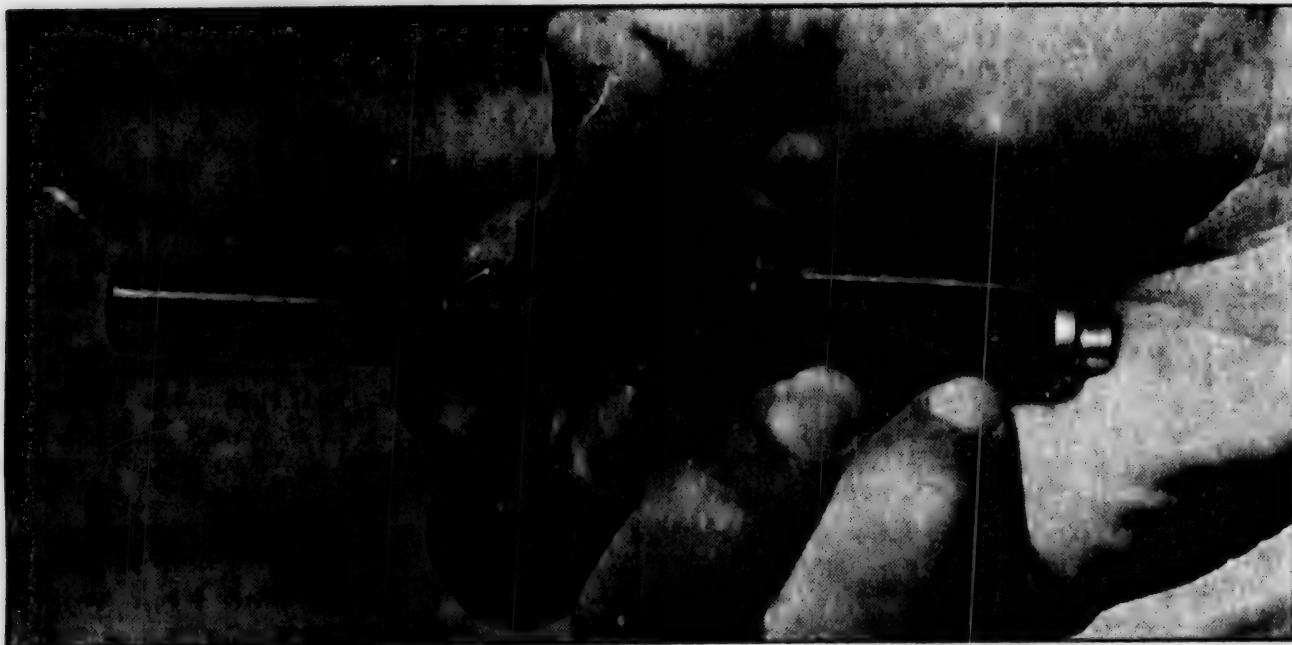


ISRAEL

PEN PISTOL SEIZED IN SOUTHERN LEBANON

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew No 29, 13 Mar 86 p 5

[Text] Would you put it in your pocket? Among the many weapons found in the sweeps conducted recently by the IDF in southern Lebanon were miniature pistols camouflaged as pens. The pistol, 22 caliber, is apparently in regular production. The pistol is shown actual size in the picture. (Photo by Ofer Qarni)



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CSO: 4423/105

ISRAEL

HOUSING DEVELOPMENT FOR MILITARY CAREERISTS

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew No 29, 13 Mar 86 p 44

[Text] Modi'in: a beautiful view, excellent climate, 1,000 apartments of 110 cubic meters and more. The price: \$75,000 per apartment. This is the solution that the IDF is proposing for careerists between 23 and 35.

The program has been discussed in the army for about 2 years now--the construction of a residential area for careerists in addition to the one in Yavne which has been very successful. The goal is the encouragement of more permanent enlistments. The magic word: Modi'in. One thousand people, all of whom would commit themselves for 8 years of service, would add 8,000 "career years" to the IDF, which is a lot. It would also bring a lot of satisfaction to those people and contribute to raising morale and motivation, so that everyone would come out a winner.

When they began looking for a site, they were after a place that would be close to the central army camps (for the individual's convenience as well as for reasons of readiness and monetary savings), that would allow the construction of at least 1,000 residences. They would be attractive and accessible from the point of view of the traffic, would have a completely ready infrastructure (or, at least, partially ready) where the land would belong to the state (to shorten the acquisition time and lower the cost), and which would have comfortable climatic and ecological conditions.

The project management checked and screened no fewer than 25 sites throughout Israel that were suggested by the civil administration in Judea and Samaria, the Ministry of Housing, the Jewish Agency, town council heads, mayors, and private groups. The suggestions dealt both with the establishment of new neighborhoods connected to existing settlements and the establishment of new settlements. "Most of them," according to the chairman of the administration for the project, Brig Gen M., "were rejected for reasons of unavailability, high cost, difficulties of access, and low attractiveness. In the end we "locked onto" Modi'in's gorgeous site inside the Green Line. It is close to the army centers and can guarantee a high quality of life."

The size of the area is about 2,100 dunams. Until 17 years ago it served as an IDF training ground, but that activity ceased with the inception of the plan to found a municipal settlement there. Originally the site was designed

to provide communal services to all the settlements of the area, but in the more distant future there is the intention that it will be a part of a new municipal settlement to be established in the area. "Our purpose," Brig. Gen. M. continues, "is to arrive at a situation where, through this project, the best of our officers, and especially the youngest among them, will continue their service with us for a long time."

The administration of the project will be carried out by a group of residents, headed by a professional officer staff from the Air Force (as the project in Yavne was administered).

Thus far 2,200 careerists have signed up for the project and the goal is to double the number of registrants to about 4,000 candidates. The appointments will be made by a special committee that will work out of an "individual" department in the manpower branch in cooperation with the corps administration chief adjutant. Clearly only some of the candidates who qualify will be selected; the work of the committee will be guided by, among other things, standards to be determined in accordance with length of service, the military track, the service program, the periodic evaluation, and the family situation. Those servicemen whose applications are rejected will receive an announcement to that effect from their commanders.

The final programs for construction of the apartments have not yet been firmed up. They will be prepared only after the certification and final completion of the list of residents. "We are aware of the fact that the cost of a housing unit, which is relatively low, may nonetheless deter a part of the intended population," says Brig. Gen. M., "and we will deal with that. Possibilities are currently being examined for establishing various kinds of housing units so that cheaper options will also be available."

Construction is expected to start the beginning of next summer. The target date for moving in is the summer of 1989.

Everything you wanted to know about the project:

Geographic location: east of the Ben Shemen-Latrun highway, adjacent to the settlement of Maccabim, 9 km from Lod (5 minutes travel time), about 30 km from Tel Aviv, and about 40 km from Jerusalem (20-30 minutes travel time).

Conditions at the site: the area belongs to the inner Shefela. The climate is comfortable, the view is beautiful, and the air is clear.

Nature of the apartments: construction with ground attached.

Number of proposed units: 1,000.

Apartment size: about 110 square meters (with options for expansion). The structures are 1-family, not all of the same type. Every unit will have ground area attached. The total area per family will be 500 square meters.

Apartment cost: \$75,000 (115,000 shekels). As noted, cheaper alternatives will, apparently, also be offered for smaller houses and semi-detached cottages.

Terms: time payments. Credit assistance will be provided by the Ministry of Defense (by a special assistance committee), by the Ministry of Housing (as is common in the surrounding settlements), and by the banks.

Move in: summer of 1989.

Registration terms: careerist NCO's and officers 23-35 (up to 30 preferred), who have 5 years of service, of which at least the last 2 are in career service. The last three evaluations of the candidate must be at least "very good." The project will also include a group of senior officers with long service who never managed to find suitable housing.

Manner of registration: any serviceman meeting the terms above may submit an application to be registered for the program via a form available in the units (the form is included in circular from the city commander as of Mar 1986). The application must be signed by the serviceman and his commander (rank of lieutenant colonel and above), in three copies. The form is to be turned over to the documents officer of the command, branch or corps, who is to forward it to the individual department of the manpower branch.

#### Obligations:

--Sign up for 8 years of career service from the moment that document is signed.

--Sale of the apartment owned by the serviceman as a precondition to acquiring the apartment in Modi'in.

--Holding the apartment in Modi'in for at least 5 days from the day of its purchase.

Breaking the contract: a resident can break the contract up until close to the move-in date without monetary loss, but he will be required to bring another resident in his stead.

9794

CSO: 4423/105

ISRAEL

COTTON GROWING INDUSTRY, POLICIES SURVEYED

Labor Self-Reliance

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 30 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Hayim Margalit: "A Success Story Until '85"]

[Text] "The whole settlement movement has no alternative to agriculture," according to Me'ir ben Me'ir, the general director of the Ministry of Agriculture. He stressed that even if additional employment sources are found, agriculture is basic.

All of the entities that deal with the economy and all those that pretend to do so and to understand it would do well to keep those words in mind. The discussion about the cotton industry also belongs in this category. In the last decade the cotton harvests were the largest in the entire agricultural sector. In 1985 they encompassed about 650,000 dunams. Until 1975 it was a protected industry; i.e., the government offered firm price supports. Since then "cotton has gotten on its feet and begun to walk." Israeli cotton entered foreign markets and proved itself, both from the point of view of quality and reliable delivery schedules. More than a billion dollars has been invested in the industry for soil improvement, mechanization, a delivery fleet, and carding machines. The heads of the industry continually stress that in return for that enormous investment cotton brought \$1.4 billion into state coffers. The added value is at the rate of 90 percent and it has no equal in other agricultural harvests and certainly not in industry. They stress that they are talking about an industry that brings in several hundred million dollars a year. That is to say, it is not a small unimportant industry, but something very serious. It is, meanwhile, the agricultural branch that is unparalleled in terms of efficiency. The average yield is 450 kg per dunam (fibers and seeds), and that is the world's largest yield. In California, which is number two in this area, the average yield is 330 kg per dunam.

Self Labor

In recent years the cotton harvest has been calculated; i.e., the workers in this area have computer support. The use of water is high. "We can be even more efficient," the growers claim noting that the cotton fields use sewage



water. They are the ones who provided the impetus for recycling sewage water and thus made a large contribution to improving the environment. There are those among the industry heads who stress that the growing of cotton is mostly a self labor matter, so that they heads of the industry do not just talk they a matter of self labor, so that the heads of the industry do not just talk, they do.

Until 1985, cotton was a success story. In the last decade there have been ups and downs in cotton prices. The average long-term price has been 72 cents per pound. Production costs hovered between 60 and 62 cents per pound, which made cotton worthwhile economically; this factor pushed its workers into specialization. The workers felt themselves more than just field hands. They sit in large tractors with air-conditioned cabins. During the harvest season they presided over superb harvests that grew from year to year, worked with dials, pedals, self-propulsion, hydraulics and, above all, computer printouts that became standard equipment for every grower. Then suddenly, or perhaps not so suddenly for someone who knew how to read the signs, the picture changed.

#### New Agricultural Powers

Until a few years ago, when people talked about cotton, they meant the United States. The United States was number one in production and harvests and, in the final analysis, was the one who set the price on the commodities exchange. To this day the United States sets the prices on the exchange, but the situation is changing in that there are new agricultural powers that are growing cotton. They include China and Bangladesh who became the favorite daughters of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which invests money in them, along with Brazil and India. Other countries will be joining them since it is becoming clear in the developing countries that industry has been much of a blessing, and they are beginning to understand that agriculture is preferable. With the leftovers of agricultural products you can feed the hungry, whose pressure is increasing. Another increasingly serious matter in the world is the growth of the urban population in both the developing and established countries as a result of industrialization. In the West and the East the opinion is spreading that support of an urban dweller is much more expensive than support of a rural dweller and that in order to keep people down on the farm the price of agricultural products must be guaranteed, otherwise the flight to the cities will continue. Spain, Turkey, and Greece have guaranteed prices for cotton, which allow the growers to plough, sow, and harvest without worrying about prices on the exchange. That is the situation not only in Brazil, India, and Bangladesh which are developing countries, but also in the Soviet Union, whose rulers are very sensitive to the rural issue, and in the United States, where President Reagan signed a new agriculture bill at the end of 1985. The new agricultural policy permits government support based on the market situation and allows adjustment of prices and production in accordance with market needs. It also permits the implementation of programs to encourage American agricultural exports at prices subsidized by the government. All of these things have caused a drop in cotton prices on the world market, and because of them, it seems likely that it is not a temporary drop. Cotton prices will be low for the next few years despite the fact that the United States has decreased its cotton acreage. The prices will

be problematic because of the large production surpluses in the United States and China and because of the increase in cotton-growing countries. To these things must be added the drop in fuel prices that will result in a drop in the price of petrochemical products, including synthetic fibers, a drop in the exchange rate of the dollar versus other currencies, and the policy of guaranteed prices. The Israeli cotton industry must face all of these challenges, and for the time being there is nothing to replace it.

### Three Conditions

It is not enough to demand a government loan of \$42 million over the next 5 years. The cotton growers must contend also with the treasury's intention to raise water prices. Treasury's reason are based on stupidity unmatched anywhere else in the world. What they are talking about is a water price that hovers around 10 cents a cubic meter where the water commission is demanding the real cost. The water commission demand makes no sense; were they to propose turning Israel's highways into toll roads as is common in the United States and Canada where the vehicle owner pays for the use of the highways, then there might be some logic to the proposal that farmers who use water for agricultural purposes pay the real price. The farmers do not have to pay for the use of sewage water. The owners in question, the municipalities and the regional councils, who set up water purification plants have to pay the farmers for the use of the water. The farmers are not obligated to pay the "sources" the real price, since the National Water Carrier is an historic project. When it was being implemented the "users" were not asked if they needed it. Its designers assumed that it was a national project intended to stimulate rural settlement.

Another stupidity, at least as great as that of the water prices, is the question of insecticide prices, which also should be coming down with the drop in fuel prices. The drop in insecticide prices should parallel the drop in fuel prices. When all three conditions are met--the government loan, a real decline in water prices and a drop in the prices of insecticides and other applications--the industry heads will have to talk about the changes required now after a successful decade.

### Policy Reforms Advocated

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 30 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Yosef Galili: "Someone Who Has Never Sown..."]

The Israeli government is today called upon to decide the fate of the cotton industry one way or the other. Its approach to the matter will involve far more than the existence of the irrigated crop industries in Israel, but will determine the attitude of the national unity government toward the future of agriculture and settlement and their importance in the economy and in Israeli society.

The discussion held on this matter in the ministerial committee for economic affairs at the end of last week exposed positions and intentions that contradict the historic nature of national settlement. Minister Pat, a

prisoner of the "Liberal-Likud" way of thinking, proposed "not to sow cotton for 2-3 years" in order to save, apparently, the \$42 million demanded by the cotton council to save the industry. Me'ir Brown, a member of the staff for saving the industry, said at a news conference in reaction to all this: "Only someone who has never sown in his entire life could suggest that we stop sowing without understanding the practical implications for an agricultural sector that stretches over 655,000 dunams and constitutes 56 percent of the irrigated fields in Israel."

As noted, Minister Pat's approach and the position of the treasury toward agriculture and settlement are still captive to the concept of the "economic coup" and the liberalization in the economy that have brought it to the edge of the abyss. It is no wonder that Likud's ministers of agriculture were occupied with settlement in the territories and with other political matters, but not with agriculture. The consequences: a blow to production by artificially lowering the currency exchange rate and insuring a rate unsuitable for agriculture, cancelling the intended credit, attaching "insane" interest rates to the loans, inflationary taxation, and a gap in financing. That was the reality in the agricultural sector on the eve of the establishment of the government of national unity.

#### Another Policy Is Required

The national unity government's economic policy was intended to extricate the economy from the swamp into which it had sunk as a result of Likud's "scorched earth" policy. With all the accomplishments achieved in stopping inflation and in improving the balance of payments, it is a fact that the productive sector identified with agriculture and settlement is still beset with difficulties and financial crises. In order to extricate it from them another policy is needed with a national order of priorities for saving the productive sector and promoting and advancing it. This time it is the "white gold" that stands in the balance; it is the cotton industry which brought in a billion dollars in the last decade with an added value of 90 percent.

The Israeli government will today discuss and decide on the industry's request for a \$42 million loan over the next 5 years. "The debate on the issue has dragged on for more than 6 months while the decision to grant 60 million dollars to Elscint was adopted overnight," according to the farmers.

In justifying their demand, the cotton council submitted the following data: the cotton industry is central to the Israeli economy, stretching over 655 thousand dunams that constitute 56 percent of the irrigated land in Israel, with no alternative; close to a billion dollars has been invested in the industry in mechanization, irrigation networks, carding machines, etc. Not to use these production tools would be a terrible waste, especially in the employment situation in the economy where more than 10,000 people are employed and around which industries have developed. Additionally, there is the real danger of loss of markets that were nurtured and acquired over many years; the cotton industry in Israel is the world leader in terms of record harvests and quality (450 kg of raw cotton per dunam) as opposed to California, the showcase of American agriculture, with 300 kg of raw cotton per dunam. The rest of the countries lag behind Israel by 50 percent. Furthermore: in the



last 3 years Negev farms have achieved impressive accomplishments and world record harvests of an average of 540 and 600 kg of raw cotton per dunam. Some farms in the Negev and the Galilee even exceeded these records.

Cotton growers in Israel have learned how to "accommodate to the technological changes and the new demands of the world market" by implementing in the field the results of the research and development in Israel's outstanding research institutes.

There are three main causes behind the crisis in the industry:

--A temporary, but sharp decline in cotton prices in Israel.

--Massive price support on the part of the government in countries that compete with Israeli cotton growers.

--An increase in production assessments as a result of the economic policy since June 1985 (especially the price of water and the cost of financing).

Examples: the increase in the cost of water, which constitutes 25 percent of all cotton-growing costs, by 5 cents per cubic meter of water to 10-11 cents per cubic meter, while California farmers, who are the main competitors to world cotton growers, pay only one cent per cubic meter of water; the "insane real interest rate" of 80-100 percent and more eliminates any hope for the continued existence of the cotton industry or of agriculture in general. Anyone who proposes not to sow cotton for the next year or two is consigning 300-400 thousand additional dunams of land to oblivion and to foreign hands, especially in the areas of the Negev, the Arava, and the Beqaa which are very arid in any case. Prime Minister Shim'on Peres told us recently that 12 million dunams in the Negev are not settled. Is not that enough?

#### To Pay Off the Note

In his recent appearances, Prime Minister Peres repeated in the Knesset, in the Agricultural Center and on other occasions: "Without agriculture and settlement, there is no existence for the national unity government and for the country in general." So it is in the macro-political arena, while in the micro-political arena the prime minister is being called upon to decide the fate of the cotton industry and its future. A suitable epigram for the occasion is: "Here is Rhodes, jump here."

The prime minister says: "Israel is at the top of the ladder in everything connected with research, production, and agricultural development, yet despite all that Israeli agriculture is being sorely tested. The government under my leadership will try to extricate productive agriculture from these doldrums and to raise the pioneers and the settlements to their rightful place. We believe that fields must take precedence over exchanges, and workshops over handouts. We believe that our fate depends on the number of furrows that we plough and not on the number of outposts that we build. The principle that the land cannot be sold in perpetuity is congruent with our belief that the

land must not slip from the ownership of the nation. Woe to us if national lands are mortgaged to the deceits of the speculators; woe to us if they should become transferrable property..."

These words by Prime Minister Shim'on Peres should be adopted by the government ministers when they meet to discuss the fate of the cotton industry and the fate of agriculture and settlement in general.

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CSO: 4423/105



AFGHANISTAN

ARMED FORCES ISSUES PERSONNEL DISCHARGE ORDERS

LD130135 Kabul BAKHTAR in Dari 1130 GMT 12 Apr 86

/Text/ Kabul, 12 Apr (BAKHTAR)--Concerning the periodic discharge of soldiers and NCO's who have completed the specified military service term by 1 Saratan 1365 /22 June 1986/ in the DRA Armed Forces:

1. Those unit NCO's, new and reserve soldiers whose military service will be completed by 1 Saratan 1365 should be discharged from the ranks of the DRA Armed Forces during the months of Sowr and Jowza /21 April-21 June/, and in accordance with the General Military Conscription law are to be entered in the reserves.

Soldiers and NCO's entitled for discharge in the spring term of this year are as follows:

a. Soldiers and NCO's who have spent 3 years or longer in combat units as of 1 Saratan 1365.

b. Those soldiers and unit NCO's who have completed 4 years or longer in the logistics, guard and supply units.

2. Discharge of the soldiers and unit NCO's should be carried out by the unit commanders, large companies and institutions, while maintaining combat capability and date of entry in such a way that 50 percent of the men are to be discharged between 1 Sowr and 1 Jowza /21 April-22 May/; and the second 50 percent in the 2d month from 1 Jowza to 1 Saratan /21 May-22 June 1986/.

3. The discharge ceremony should take place in the presence of the select delegation by holding glorious ceremonies. Those discharged should be told to go to their respective commissariats for processing and to fulfill the instruction given them by these commissariats.

4. In connection with the discharge, those DRA males aged 18 to 19 and those reservists under the age of 40 and are not entitled for deferment, are to be called up for military service.

/signed/ Maj Gen Nazar Mohammad, DRA minister of Defense

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CSO: 4665/34

INDIA

GORBACHEV 'EAGER' TO VISIT INDIA, ENVOY SAYS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 2 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] The Soviet Communist Party General Secretary, Mr Mikhail Gorbachov, "is eager to come to India this year in response to the invitation extended to him by Mr Rajiv Gandhi", according to the Soviet Ambassador in New Delhi, Mr Vasily N. Rykov.

Answering a question at a Press conference about Mr Gorbachov's visit to India, Mr Rykov said, "My personal information is that he would very much like to come to India this year but I do not have information about the dates of his visit".

Mr Rykov gave the same reply in regard to the projected visit to India of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Edward Shevernadze. He was, however not in a position to say definitely whether Mr Gorbachov's visit would be preceded by that of the Soviet Foreign Minister.

In one of the rare Press conferences by a Soviet Ambassador in India Mr Rykov endorsed Mr Gorbachov's appeal "calling on the American people and its Government, on the peoples and Governments of all countries vigorously, by practical actions to work for the ban on nuclear explosions to become a fact, an immutable norm of inter-State relations".

Referring to the "initial negative reaction" by the USA to Mr Gorbachov's new and constructive proposal for talks with President Reagan on banning nuclear tests, the Soviet Ambassador said his country was still expecting a "final responsible reply" from that country.

He also made it clear that at no point of time, the Soviet Union had turned down the proposal for "effective" verification of the agreements on test ban. What it desired was a solution to the problem in its entirety, Mr Rykov said.

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CSO: 4600/1630

INDIA

# 1

## PROTOCOL ON FERROUS METALLURGY SIGNED WITH USSR

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Apr 86 p 8

[Text] India and the Soviet Union on Friday signed protocol in the field of ferrous metallurgy which envisages, among other things, training of Indian scientists by Soviet experts in different technological areas including iron making, new steel products, thermal engineering refractories and raw materials, reports UNI.

The protocol was signed at the end of the seventh meeting of the working group on ferrous metallurgy which concluded in Delhi on Friday. Mr L V Radyukovich, first Deputy Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy of the Soviet Union and Mr R P Khosla, secretary, department of steel signed the protocol for their countries.

The working group expressed satisfaction at the progress of the modernisation plans at the Bhilai and Bokaro steel plants. New facilities at the Bokaro steel plant for its 4 mt expansion scheme have been commissioned and the full scheme will be completed by June 1988 when the new rolling mill is commissioned.

A report on the revised project concept of the Visakhapatnam steel project was handed over to the Soviet side at the meeting. This report will be further discussed in May for early finalisation. Both sides agreed that the pace of construction of the project was making satisfactory progress, to enable commissioning of the stage I by 1988 and stage II by 1990.

The Soviet side has agreed to further train 48 engineers to maintain and operate the automation control system of the plate mill at Bhilai plant. The system itself will be commissioned by 1 July, for which Indian engineers have already been trained.

The working group also noted that the MECON continued to take advantage of cooperation with Soviet organisations. MECON has signed a licence agreement for transfer of technology for selective coal crushing and are carrying out negotiations for licence agreement for blast furnace stove cooling system.

/12828  
CSO: 4600/1636

INDIA

## PAPERS SUMMARIZE DEFENSE MINISTRY ANNUAL REPORT

### Dangers from Pakistan, PRC

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 Apr 86 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, March, 31, (PTI, UNI): The defence ministry has emphasised the need for continuous efforts to bolster India's defence preparedness in view of "multiple threats" to its security, particularly from Pakistan and China.

In its annual report for 1985-86 released today, the ministry underlines the need for taking appropriate counter measures in view of the fact that "external forces could interact with internal forces of dissent" in the political and socio-economic spheres as to "exacerbate our security problems."

While referring to the move towards an agreement not to attack each other's nuclear facilities and installations and the talks held between defence secretaries of the two countries on the Siachen region, the report voices India's concern over the resolutions adopted by the ruling Muslim League Party on relations with India.

"Pakistan's determined quest for nuclear status and untrammelled flow of arms into Pakistan from the United States on the ground that these are required in view of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, are serious problems with negative connotations," it said.

The report points out that "We must be cognisant of the fact that Pakistan has moved closer to acquiring the capability to make nuclear weapons, which has an obvious bearing on our security."

Specifically the strengthening of Pakistan's Navy by supplies of sophisticated weaponry "can have no relations to the situation in Afghanistan and these arms flow have caused increase in tension within the bilateral relationship."

Referring to the impasse in Afghanistan the report expressed "dismay" that a "fallout from this continuing situation is the heightened significance Pakistan has gained in American perceptions." It now forms part of the "strategic consensus" which the United States feels it needs in Southwest Asia to counter the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and to compensate for the loss of Iran.

The report, which for the first time highlights the threat from China, says that "China is widely believed to be involved in Pakistan's nuclear programme." Besides, China has considerably improved its tactical situation in Tibet, it points out.

Referring to China's moves to seek a greater balance in its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union, the report says "We would need to bear in mind that such an eventuality may enable China to redeploy its forces from the Sino-Soviet border to Tibet."

The 1985-90 defence plan is at an advanced stage of finalisation, says the report. It says the emphasis continues to be on modernisation and replacement of defence equipment, securing greater fire power, mobility and

more modern means of communications and on self-reliance and import substitution.

The report highlights the growth of the 36 ordnance factories whose production increased to Rs 1,165 crores from Rs 1,017 in the previous year.

# Internal Dangers Noted

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

**I**N addition to the multiple threats from Pakistan and China, the internal dimension of India's security is causing great concern to the defence ministry.

"The fact that external forces could interact with internal forces of dissent in political and socio-economic spheres exacerbate our security problems is a scenario that must be reckoned with," the annual report of the ministry says.

According to the report, utilisation of organised subversion as a weapon by external agencies is a possibility that adds both to the nature and ambit of India's security problems.

On the external front, it takes note of the nuclear quest of Pakistan and the U.S. arms supply to that country. It reflects on security implications of China's involvement in Pakistan's nuclear programme, Beijing's modernisation programme and its improved position in Tibet.

In the coming years, China could further deploy its forces in Tibet in the event of normalisation of its relations with the Soviet Union.

On Pakistan's nuclear quest, it says it is a matter of conjecture whether

Pakistan will explode a nuclear device or retain an untested device so that further American support may not be prejudiced.

But on India's part, "we must" be cognisant of the fact that Pakistan has moved closer to acquiring the capability to make nuclear weapons which has an obvious bearing on our security.

The second negative development is the untrammelled flow of arms into Pakistan from the U.S. on the grounds that these are required by that country because of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Most of the land-based weapons inducted cannot be used in Pakistan's northern and western theatres and are obviously meant for use against India.

The report says that strengthening of the Pakistan navy by supplies of sophisticated weaponry can have no relation to the situation in Afghanistan. The increase in tensions in bilateral relations caused by flow of these arms is obvious and this requires India to take appropriate counter-measures.

It takes note of the fact that during the year India maintained a dialogue with China and Pakistan. Contacts with China increased and bilateral relations were strengthened in trade, technology and culture.

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CSO: 4600/1627



INDIA

## BANGLADESH ARMY REPORTED MASSING ON BORDER

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Apr 86 p 6

[Text] Agartala, April 1 — Massive regrouping is reported in the Mahalchhetri upazilla of Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh.

Sources said that on 27 March one battalion of Bangladesh Army took position at Battimura, very close to the Tripura Bangladesh international border.

The jawans lit fires in the forest and laid ambush at several points in search of Shanti Bahini rebels.

As a result of this "forest destruction operation" the forest produce on the Indian side was also severely affected, the sources added.

The Bangladesh Army's presence on the international border line is also tantamount to violation of international border norms. Only Bangladesh Rifles personnel is allowed in the border areas.

The sources said that on 27 February last about 40 Bangladesh Army men raided South Tripura's Bhagabantilla village, penetrating three kilometres inside the border, and kidnapped four Indian Chakma nationals.

The sources said that the massive regrouping on the Bangladesh side comes in the wake of Shanti Bahini decision to disrupt and boycott the forthcoming polls of the Bangladesh Jatiya Sansad slated for 7 May. The Jana Sanhati Samiti of Chittagong Hill tracts has appealed to the tribals to refrain from participating in the poll proceedings because the military Government of Bangladesh has failed to protect the tribals.

The Dhaka regime has systematically resettled about three lakh Muslims in the hills with the specific intention to change the demographical character of the Chittagong Hill tracts.

The tribals have been tortured and their property destroyed by the Bangladesh Army and para-military forces under the guise of finding Shanti Bahini rebels.

The sources said the Jana Sanhati Samiti armed wing, Shanti Bahini, has circulated handbills in the hill area in favour of their decision to boycott the ensuing polls.

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CSO: 4600/1629

INDIA

# ANALYST COMMENTS ON INDO-TURKISH RELATIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

GUWAHATI, April 4.

The Janata party general secretary, Syed Shahabuddin has strongly criticised the Asom Gana Parishad Government for not settling down to the business of governance and its leaders for still living in the days of the agitation. According to him Assam was a State of minorities with no single social or ethnic group, including the ethnic Assamese, in a majority.

This formulation, which is calculated to provoke the worst passions of the ethnic Assamese, was fully endorsed by the State Janata party president, Mr. Golep Borborah who was present at the press conference addressed by Mr. Shahabuddin.

Mr. Shahabuddin was on his way back to Delhi after attending the annual day celebrations of the wellknown madrasa at Badarpur whose chief Maulana Abdul Jalil Choudhury is a Congress (I) leader of the area.

Talking to reporters, Mr. Shahabuddin faulted the AGP Government for failing to ensure political stability, economic development and social harmony. On each of these counts, the AGP Government had failed, he said. He was especially critical of certain current develop-

ments including the evictions which he said had been discriminatory against the minorities and the changes demanded by the AGP Government in the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act of 1983. As the legislation currently stands, anyone filing objections in respect of the illegal status of a suspected foreigner has to reside within a radius of 3 km from the ordinary place of residence of the person against whom the objection is being made; the onus of proving the objection is on the objector. There is also the requirement of a fee of between Rs. 25 and Rs. 100 to be paid with every objection filed. The AGP Government has proposed to the Centre that the legislation be amended in such a manner as to remove the residence requirement which makes it necessary for both the objector and the objectee to be broad-

ly from the same area, and for the onus of proving one's citizenship to be shifted to the shoulders of the one against whom objections are raised.

The Janata Party, Mr. Shahabuddin said, was opposed to both these demands, while it was indifferent to the third demand (for the removal of the fee requirement with every filing of objections).

Mr. Shahabuddin said that he expected the whole situation in Assam to change radically when the census, which could not be held in 1981, is held. He said he had instructed the minorities wherever he travelled in Assam to announce in one voice that they spoke Bengali and that they were Bengalis. A fair census, Mr. Shahabuddin said, would establish once and for all the actual status of the ethnic Assamese as minorities in Assam.

The "arrangement" by which generations of Bengali immigrants had returned Assamese as their mother tongue in three successive censuses since Independence till 1971 had broken down, Mr. Shahabuddin claimed.

Briefly touching on the controversy over the Bill on Muslim women's rights Mr. Shahabuddin reiterated his view that "atheists and communalists" had come together on this issue and strongly defended the legislation. The Muslim community which had all along resisted any move to legislate on matters affecting its personal law had now come forward to support a measure being initiated by Parliament which in fact would be the first move as it were towards codification of Muslim personal law. The move therefore deserved support, Mr. Shahabuddin said.

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CSO: 4600/1639

INDIA

# STUDY ON TRIBALS TERMED PART OF 'ANTI-INDIA CAMPAIGN'

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Apr 86 p 1

## [Text]

The EZE, a West German "voluntary" organisation, which is presently spearheading a strong anti-India campaign with the aim of blocking Western aid to the country, is using certain studies made by Indians on the tribals to give 'flesh' to their protest.

With these, "authentic" reports, the EZE is trying to influence the European youth and intelligentsia into believing that the Indian Government deals with the tribals like the Hitlerite regime dealt with the Jews.

One of the main studies used for the purpose is "Scenario of the Seven Per Cent", a two-volume treatise on Indian tribals prepared by Cinemart Foundation. It has already been procured by Ms G Fischer-Wilms, a senior EZE functionary, from the managing trustee of the Foundation, Mr Tapan Bose, who is also a documentary film-maker.

This came to light with the interception of a letter written by Ms Fischer-Wilms to Mr Bose in which she urgently asks for the two volumes while informing him that the movement launched to mobilise opinion against World Bank funded dam projects in India is gaining momentum.

The study has been readied, among others, with the help of seven foreign organisations: EZE, West Germany, Swiss Catholic Lenten Fund, AMA, Netherlands, ADB, Netherlands, CAFOD, England, Bischoffelijke Vastananktie, Netherlands and Trocaire, Ireland.

What is curious is that, though aided by foreign church groups, some of which are said to be CIA front-organisations, the Cinemart study liberally uses leftists jargon while condemning the Indian state as a fascist one.

While it likens the underground Naga movement to the "Vietnamese for national liberation", it says that the Government uses terms like "national interest" and "democracy" to repress the tribals and hide "its blood-stained claws of greed, exploitation, plunder and mass murder".

Then the study goes on to advocate a separate State, if a separate nation cannot be carved out, for the tribals. It provides a map of this tribal "state" that takes up seven districts of Bihar, three of West Bengal, four of Orissa and two of Madhya Pradesh.

The documentation of the study is detailed though its perspective is blurred. It chastises the Government for deliberately keeping the tribals in backwardness, though it condemns all developmental work in tribal districts as they allegedly stifle tribal "customs and culture".

On the whole, the work is opposed to the Indian Government *per se* and scrupulously avoids giving any solution to the situation other than a separate geographical entity for the tribals. With this aim, it gives detailed history of various separatist tribal movements like the Kolhan movement and the one launched by the Gonds in 1941.

Interestingly, while the study deals in detail with what appears palpably as an Indian problem, the manner in which it is written shows that it has a foreign readership in mind. For example, a "taluk" is explained as a county and "hat" is explained as a shandy.

Officials, whose attention has been drawn about the connection between the anti-India campaign and studies like the "Scenario", say that the crucial

role of the middleman between the two is played by organisations like the Gandhi Peace Foundation, AVARD and related bodies whose foreign connections are presently being

scrutinised by the Government-appointed Kudal Commission.

Observers add that there are certain elements in the Government who, inadvertently or otherwise, aid these organisations. One such body, the Gandhi Institute of Studies of Varanasi, for example, has been receiving funds from the US embassy and the Ford Foundation, on one hand, and the Defence Ministry, on the other.

According to the 1973-74 balance sheet of this organisation, while the Ford Foundation gave more than Rs one lakh to it for a seminar on the bifurcation of Uttar Pradesh and the US embassy paid it Rs 10,584 for "categorisation of need situations and research cell" (whatever that might mean), the Defence Ministry gave it Rs 16,602.92 for a sociological study of the tribals.

These observers say that these activities fall into a pattern if seen in the broader context of subversive activities against India carried out by bodies like the CIA. The subversion, they say, is carried out at various levels — from direct military and other aid to separatist formations to this case where a campaign is being mounted to block World Bank developmental aid to India.

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CSO: 4600/1636

INDIA

## PAPERS REPORT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN PUNJAB

### New Governor Appointed

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] As part of his get tough policy to deal sternly with the Sikh extremists, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has appointed the former West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray, as Governor of Punjab with immediate effect.

The present Governor of Punjab, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, who was shifted from Andhra Pradesh, only a few months back when Mr. Arjun Singh was inducted into the Central Cabinet, has been appointed Governor of Maharashtra in place of Mr. Kona Prabhakar Rao, who resigned last week in the wake of the scandal over his indefensible interference in the Bombay University administration.

At one stage Mr. Ray was being considered for ambassadorship to the U.S., as the Prime Minister wanted the country to be represented by a prominent public figure in Washington. But Mr. Rajiv Gandhi changed his mind later as he was evidently thinking of a more important political role for him within the country, which became known with the announcement of Mr. Ray's new appointment.

Mr. Ray is due to be sworn in tomorrow in Chandigarh so that he could assume charge of his new responsibilities almost immediately in view of the grave situation prevailing in Punjab, which is still rocked by terrorism.

### Himachal Governor

Along with the appointments of Mr. Ray and Dr. Sharma, it was also announced that a retired Naval officer, Vice-Admiral R. K. S. Gandhi, has been appointed Governor of Himachal Pradesh in place of Mr. Hosihe Sema, who resigned recently to get elected to

the Rajya Sabha during last month's biennial elections.

When the papers containing the Prime Minister's formal recommendation for the appointment of these three Governors and the acceptance of Mr. Prabhakar Rao's resignation were sent to Rashtrapati Bhavan, the President, Mr. Zail Singh, sent for the Home Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, presumably to inquire what was the purpose behind the decision to send Mr. Ray to Punjab at this critical juncture.

The choice of Mr. Ray for this difficult assignment indicates that the Prime Minister probably expects the new Governor to play an active role, in the name of assisting the Chief Minister, Mr. S. S. Barnala, in coping with the serious situation. The appointment of the new Governor also coincides with many changes that are being made in the administrative set-up in Punjab following the assignment of Mr. J. F. Ribeiro as Director-General of Police.

The firmness that the Prime Minister is displaying in meeting the terrorist challenge in Punjab is not unfortunately reflected in other domains of governance. He has still not made up his mind about the appointment of new ambassadors to the U.S. and the Soviet Union, although various names have been under consideration.

As a result, the present Ambassador in Washington, Mr. K. S. Bajpai, who was due to retire yesterday was asked at the very last moment much to his embarrassment, after he had his final farewell party, to continue for some more time. The Reagan Administration which regarded Mr. Bajpai as a successful ambassador who contributed considerably to the latest improvement in Indo-American relations, was rather surprised that he was retiring after only two years in Washington.



### Last minute orders

R. Chakrapani writes from Washington:

Mr. K. S. Bajpai, who reached the mandatory retirement age of 58 yesterday and was bidding farewell to high officials of the U.S. Administration, members of the Washington-based diplomatic community and friends, received last minute telephonic orders from New Delhi to cancel his departure and stay on at his post for the time being.

Mr. Bajpai had packed up his belongings and was ready to leave after spending a few days privately in company with his school mates when the instructions came. He was a student of St. Albans School early in the 1940s when his father, a veteran foreign service official, the late G. S. Bajpai was Agent-General of India in Washington and was an occupant of the same house on Maccomb Street.

### Summing Up of Assembly Session

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 2 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

CHANDIGARH, April 1.—The elected representatives of the people have dispersed after the month-long budget session of the Punjab Assembly. Various political groups have had their say. On the pretext of hitting at terrorism, they attacked one another.

First, about the ruling Akali Dal. The strain of speeches by most members, including Ministers and the Chief Minister, was recalling the repression of Sikhs, Operation Bluestar, the November 1984 riots, injustice from Delhi, violation of the Punjab accord by the Centre, and so on.

They talked about threat to Sikhs outside Punjab. The "injustice to Sikhs" was a favourite observation. Even Mr S. S. Barnala, Chief Minister, and Mr Balwant Singh, Finance Minister, seemed to go with the wave. While Mr Barnala gave a vivid description of the atrocities on the Sikhs in November 1984, Mr Balwant Singh talked about the 25,000 killed in riots in the country.

Mr Balwant Singh put forward a "thesis" in his budget speech of injustice to the State sought to be undone through the Anandpur Sahib resolution. Mr Barnala wondered if the Sutlej-Yamuna canal was necessary in view of the lack of any surplus waters with Punjab for sharing with other States.

The general attitude of the Akali members was more or less the same as during the previous session (talk of repression, injustice etc.). The mention of terrorism in the State was low-keyed. Of course, the Congress-I was repeatedly blamed for much of the terrorism.

#### SIKHS OUTSIDE

With this content and tone of the Akali speeches, it did not surprise many when they came up with the last resolution of the session, brought at very short notice. The resolution demanding general amnesty for Sikh youth in jails and Army deserters observed: "This House also expresses its concern over the activities of the anti-social and anti-national elements who are threatening the lives of Sikhs settled outside Punjab and looting and destroying their properties through acts of violence and lawlessness. It, therefore, calls upon the Government of India to take suitable steps against such elements and save the properties and lives of the Sikhs settled outside the State of Punjab".

The resolution was moved by seven Akali members and if it was passed, it must have had the consent of the Ministerial group. Even if some members forced it on the leaders, it remains the party resolution.

The Congress-I members seemed to have come out of the previous session's spirit of cooperation with the ruling party and tried to raise the question of terrorism in Punjab through various means. Starting with a walk-out at the time of the Governor's address, they went on to wearing of black badges,

black gowns, boycott of the day's proceedings, squatting in the well of the House and, of course, speeches whenever and wherever they could make them. Somehow, they did not make a big impact despite all this and some forceful speeches by Pandit Mohan Lal, Dr Kewal Krishen and Mr Gurcharan Singh Nihalsinghwala. That the leader of the Opposition could not come up to the standards of an aggressive Opposition was more than visible.

#### BJP PROTEST

The Bharatiya Janata Party Group was at its usual wavering self, sometimes criticizing the Congress-I, at others joining them in protest, yet at other times organizing their separate protest. Though Mr Maanmohan Kalia made his presence felt, being an old hand, it was Mr Mohan Lal of the party who made some of the more forceful speeches in the House.

The lone members of CPI and Janata had their say within limits of the smallness of their respective groups (one man groups), while Mr Karnail Singh Doad, independent was also effective.

As for the serious business, the



members were kind enough to spare three minutes for passing of the Appropriation Bill worth thousands of crores and were able to pass six Bills and five resolutions on the last day of the session. There were several "joint" resolutions and motions during the session, but one did not find much of "joint spirit" in their discussions.

And now that the session is over, one does not know if the leaders and members of various groups have come closer to solving the Punjab problem from whatever angle they look at it.

### High Turnover of Governors

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Apr 86 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

An all-time record has been set by Punjab with a turn-over of as many as 10 regular and acting Governors in the last six years in this volatile State.

This dubious distinction became all the more unprecedented with three changes during 1985 alone.

After the late Jaisukhlal Hathi completed nearly four years as Governor of Punjab in August, 1981, he was succeeded by Mr. Aminuddin Khan. A year later Dr. M. Chenna Reddy was appointed but he resigned in February, 1983.

The then Chief Justice of Punjab, Mr. Surjit Singh Sandavalla officiated as Governor for a brief period, before Mr. A. P. Sharma was given this difficult assignment. But he was transferred to West Bengal eight months later to take the place of Mr. B. D. Pande, a former Cabinet Secretary, who was shifted to Punjab to tackle the grave law and order situation that was developing there.

In less than nine months, Mr. Pande also joined the casualty list, when he was abruptly replaced by Mr. K. T. Satarawala, then Lt.-Governor of Goa, in the aftermath of the military action. But he did not last even nine months, before the former Chief Minister of Madhya Pra-

desh, Mr. Arjun Singh, was appointed Governor of Punjab a few days after he was sworn in as Chief Minister of his Home State for another term.

Then the former Governor of Himachal Pradesh, Mr. H. K. Sema, functioned concurrently as Governor of Punjab for a fortnight, before Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma was transferred from Andhra Pradesh to this problem State. And finally Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray was entrusted with this unenviable task two days back and Mr. Sharma moved to Maharashtra to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Kona Prabhakara Rao's inglorious exit.

PTI reports from Chandigarh:

The Punjab Governor, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray, has said that "within the framework of the Constitution" he would extend to the State Government all help to usher in an era of peace, tranquillity and prosperity. Mr. Ray was sworn in as the new Governor yesterday.

Our New Delhi Special Correspondent writes:

Mr. Ray was also appointed the Administrator of the Union Territory of Chandigarh, according to a press communique from Rashtrapati Bhavan.

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CSO: 4600/1628

INDIA

# FERNANDES: JANATA PLANS TO WORK CLOSELY WITH LEFT

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 4 Apr 86 p 4

[Text] Calcutta, April 3: The Janata Party is planning to work in close cooperation with the Left parties to fight common issues. The party general secretary, Mr George Fernandes, said today that "both the Communist parties and us have been concerned over the fact that some states, including West Bengal, are being given a raw deal by the Centre and certain other states, like Haryana and Punjab, are prospering at their expense. There is no reason why we should not cooperate on this issue." Mr Fernandes described his talks with the chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, in this regard as "fruitful."

Mr Fernandes regretted that the Marxist parties had criticised him when he had pointed out that Bihar and Uttar Pradesh were being deprived by the Centre of their dues and that this was encouraging regionalism. He said, "It is a pity that these Left parties are taking this stand when they face the same problem in this state."

Comparing the total outlays of the Sixth Plan, Mr Fernandes pointed out that while West Bengal, Bihar and Assam got Rs 3,500 crores, Rs 3,225 crores and Rs 1,115 crores, the total investment in Amethi and Medak parliamentary constituencies was

Rs 2,325 crores. "I don't understand why the Left Front government is blaming poor Ghani Khan for investing in Malda. If an entire state's investment can be used in two Parliamentary

constituencies controlled by the mother and son, where did poor Ghani go wrong," he asked. Asked whether the Left parties were deliberately criticising him, he said, "I don't think this is wilful. Perhaps they are not aware of the facts."

Mr Fernandes demanded the immediate resignation of the Union minister for internal security, Mr Arun Nehru, as "he is a complete flop." Blaming him for Charles Sobhraj's escape he said, "the minister has no business to be there after this."

He said it was beyond the government's capacity to solve the Punjab tangle due to its "negative attitude." On Mr S.S. Ray's appointment as the governor of Punjab, he said, "I don't think he is very happy with the appointment, but then I suppose for a man who has been in the doghouse for a long time any place in the kennel will do."

Mr Fernandes said the memorandum of settlement between the AITUC, INTUC and CITU and the Bhartia Electric Steel Company was "anti-worker because it had ignored the majority union." Mr Fernandes, who discussed the issue with Mr Basu, said the chief minister had promised to look into the matter.

Commenting on Mr Romesh Bhandari's joining the Congress(I), he said, "Indian bureaucracy is slowly coming to a stage where it will identify itself with the political parties in power." He said, "It is unprecedented in the history of independent India."

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CSO: 4600/1633

INDIA

## DEPARTMENT OF STEEL ISSUES REPORT FOR 1985-86

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Apr 86 p 2

[Text]

Production of saleable steel from integrated steel plants and mini steel plants in the country was likely to touch a new high of 10 million tonnes in 1985-86, raising the production by 1.2 million tonnes compared to 1984-85, reports PTI.

According to the annual report of the Department of Steel for 1985-86, after many years of slow growth, saleable steel production during the year, in the public sector steel plants, was expected to show an increase by about 7.5 lakh tonnes over the previous year and to cross the 6 million tonnes mark, representing a growth rate of 14 per cent. In 1986-87, the production from these plants is targeted to increase further to 7.2 million tonnes, representing a growth of 20 per cent over the current year's production.

The production of steel in the public sector plants grew from 4.77 million tonnes in 1980-81 to 5.28 million tonnes in 1984-85 giving an increase of approximately 0.5 million tonnes during the five-year period.

About availability of steel, the report added, there had been a marked improvement and conditions were now fairly good in the market. Steel stocks in public sector steel plants and stock yards stood at 8.7 lakh tonnes at the beginning of January this year as compared to about 6.9 lakh tonnes at the same time last year.

The report said there had been a sizeable growth in the production from the 159 mini steel plants as a result of improvement in availability of power and scrap. Production of mild steel from these plants, this year, was expected to be about 2.3 million tonnes against a production of about 1.9 million tonnes last year. To meet the increase requirement of scrap for mini steel plants, imports of melting scrap and sponge iron are expected to reach 1.3 million tonnes in 1985-86 against 8 lakh tonnes last year.

The report stated that a major thrust was being given to the setting up of sponge iron plants to reduce imports of scrap.

The setting up of new plants have been delicensed. As a result, about six million tonnes of capacity for sponge iron had been covered by registration. Two units with a capacity of 2.1 lakh tonnes were in production and three more units with a capacity of nearly 4 lakh tonnes were under implementation. A coal linkage committee to facilitate supply of coal to sponge iron units had been set up.

A development council was also being set up to ensure proper planning for mini steel plants and sponge iron industry. The mini steel plants were expected to play a significant role in meeting the country's demand for steel production in the coming years.

Referring to the performance of Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL), the report pointed out that capacity utilisation of saleable steel in SAIL plants was likely to reach 80 per cent in 1985-86 as compared to 73 per cent for 1984-85. There had been noticeable improvement in the technical performance of these plants as well. The techno-economic improvements had brought about a saving of Rs 26 crore in SAIL during the nine-month period from April-December, 1985. Profits of SAIL up to the end of December, 1985 had touched Rs 68 crore and were likely to exceed Rs 100 crore by the year end.

The research and development centre of SAIL had been working on about 400 research projects mainly involving upgradation areas. Approximately 100 areas had been identified for commercial use in the steel plants. Some of these processes had been used on a commercial scale, the report added.

A Rs 24-crore laboratory complex of the research and development centre had been set up at Ranchi to give an impetus in the field of diagnostic research for different areas of iron and steel. A science advisory committee has been constituted to examine, among other things, all aspects of science and technology in the iron and steel industry.

The report said the capacities

at Bokaro and Bhilai steel plants were being expanded to 4 million tonnes ingot steel. Schemes had also been formulated for the modernisation of steel plants at Durgapur, Rourkela and Burnpur and it was expected to be completed by the middle of the Eighth Plan. Apart from retrieving the capacity of 1.2 million tonnes of ingot steel, modernisation will help in the introduction of newer technological features which in the long run would help in containing rising production costs.

The production from mini steel plants was expected to go up from 2.8 million tonnes by 1989-90 to 3.5 million tonnes by 1994-95. Nearly 1200 mini steel plants had been so far licensed to be set up, of which 159 plants with a capacity of 4.7 million tonnes had already been installed.

A steel consumer council with representatives of the major consuming sectors had been set up. It will enable assessment of the problems and needs of consumers to be met by the Government.

A round table on steel industry for the next decade and a conference of eminent steel experts was held during 1985 to examine certain crucial matters relevant to the industry. The issues that emerged were being examined by the working group constituted to prepare a long term profile for the development of the industry up to 2000 AD.

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CSO: 4600/1629

INDIA

BRIEFS

ASSIGNMENT FOR BHANDARI--New Delhi, April 1--The former foreign secretary, Mr Romesh Bhandari, was today appointed by the Congress president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, as the chairman of the party's foreign relations department. Announcing this here today, Mrs Najma Heptulla, Congress general secretary, said that Mr Bhandari was admitted to the party today as an active member. It is fairly certain that Mr Gandhi will entrust Mr Bhandari with diplomatic assignment from time to time. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 Apr 86 p 1] /9317

RAVI-BEAS TRIBUNAL--New Delhi, April 3--The Government of India has announced the appointment of a tribunal composed of three judges to adjudicate the Ravi-Beas river waters. The tribunal will submit its report within six months--that is by September 2. The tribunal will be presided over by Mr Justice V. Balakrishna Eradi of the Supreme Court. The other members are Mr Justice A.M. Ahmadi of the Gujarat High Court, and Mr Justice P.C. Balakrishna Menon of the Kerala High Court. A notification issued by the Secretary for Water Resources, Mr Ramaswami Iyer, said the tribunal was being appointed in exercise of powers conferred by Section 14 of the Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1956, for the verification and adjudication of the matters referred to in the Punjab accord. The farmers of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan will continue to get water not less than what they were using from the Ravi-Beas system as on July 1, 1985. Water used for drinking purposes will also remain unaffected. The quantum of water used, as claimed by the three States, will be verified by the tribunal, according to the reference made by the Ministry. "The claim of Punjab and Haryana regarding the share in their remaining waters will be adjudicated by the tribunal," says the reference. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Apr 86 p 9] /9317

CSO: 4600/1632



IRAN

RAFSANJANI VOWS TO 'LIBERATE' IRAQIS, REDUCE COMPENSATION

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 10 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] Tehran, IRNA-The ambassadors and charges d'affaires of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Asia and Oceania met yesterday afternoon (Sunday) with Hojatt ol-Eslam Val Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani. Mr Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs, was present at this meeting. In a talk, Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani referred to the positive political and military situation of our country and stated: "Five or six months ago, when drastic political and military movements were made, the results of which can be observed these days. In our view, these are preliminary steps and better results are ahead of us and they will be evident in future contingencies." The speaker of the Islamic Majlis added: "After 5 to 6 years of war and the restraints on us caused by the war, they have plotted as far as they can. We noticed that at the height of the enemy's cruelty, our people created an unbelievable position in front of the eyes of the materialists. When the bombing of our cities and the inhuman actions of the Saddam regime were at their height and the world figured that Iran was exhausted, agents of world oppression with the help of foreign propaganda, created vast anti-war waves inside our country, and imagined that the people would join, and that with the people's help, they would be able to prevent the continuation of the war. In fact, our people demonstrated such a great mental state and completely disappointed the enemy. Of course the enemy is entitled to fear the consequences of this war. Finally, a revolution which became victorious in such a special way and overcame difficulties, is able to endure a great deal and inflict a serious blow on foreign enemies and the small number of domestic "pretenders," who are part of world blasphemers. There are many observers outside our borders and those who are anxious for the result of this war, regardless of defeat or victory."

In addressing the ambassadors, Mr Hashemi added: "We have had some talks with the west and east. You have direct contact with the east, and by east, I mean the geographical east and not the political east. Your work atmosphere is among the healthiest of the world. From a political viewpoint, there is less intrigue there. The west, through news and knavery, feeds the people a specified line; inevitably there are less people who buy their words. But in Asia this situation does not exist very much. The essence of our revolution is more compatible with the easterner. The Islamic nations like

Pakistan, Kashmir, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Muslims of other areas, India, China and the great industrial power Japan are important for us and our situation requires having healthy working relations with these nations."

Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani then stated: "With the situation in the past and the questions raised after the Dawn 8 and 9 operations, you have many things to talk about and lots of ears have become opened in the world to listen to what you have to say. Inevitably, the world has become curious about having more knowledge about Iran. In the usual world calculations, these changes in Iran are worthy of interpretation for clear-sighted persons. They receive them as a miracle, and sometimes they begin to talk about these interpretations. For example, they define them as miracles, earthquakes, volcanoes, or earth-shaking; certainly these interpretations are very meaningful. The surprising perseverance demonstrated by our people persuades us to pause at this historical period.

"Now they propagandize that we have handed the key to paradise to our youth and they use this expression as a mockery stating that we deceive our youth. Certainly these interpretations reflect the fact that they speak according to their own stupidity. Is it possible to deceive the people to such an extent? The people can be deceived once or twice. But among our combatants, there are some educated ones whose level of education is much higher than some of the presidents of the world. Certainly we are not talking about titles, but since these titled individuals are making noises, we mention it here. If their intention, by the key to paradise, is another world, certainly we are convinced that if any one of us becomes a martyr, we will go to paradise and one of the airports to paradise is the war front. Definitely, paradise the airport to airport is not only limited to the war front; it has other airports too. We do not give the key to paradise to our combatants, they are the ones who have given us the key to paradise. With their supreme insights, they have perceived the meaning of paradise with their own power and have broken a barrier that the western military analysts called impenetrable. Certainly, by ordinary standards, if any of today's strong armies intended to cross this dam with conventional arms, they would have been defeated."

The representative of the imam to the Supreme Defense Council added:

"Certainly this is the beginning of our new victory. The important question for you in the political circles and among ambassadors and political persons is that they would like to understand the facts about the questions they are facing and want to understand the answer to these strange questions in relation to the region and the war.

"You see how much falsification has been made in this regard. The west and their dependents have created rousing lies. First they denied the principal of victory and rejected the Faw occupation. After we took the reporters there, they realized they could not lie anymore so they said: 'Iraq will recapture if'. For a few weeks, they were constantly saying that the Iraqis had gathered their great commanders and troops and had advanced 2 kilometers and these 2 kilometers were continued continuously. Whereas, in the beginning, they had stated that Iran had not taken more than 7 or 8 kilometers. These lies were continued so much that finally they realized they would not be able

to continue them so they were forced to change the subject and state that Iraq wanted to build a big wall like the Gog and Magog wall and close the way to Faw forever. These days, there is no news from some of the Iraqi commanders like Maher Abdul Rashid, Hushamm Faqri and others. It is not clear what has happened to them since the commanders have been given complete power to advance a few kilometers under any condition yet they regularly change them. It is strange that with all their heavy casualties they were not able to advance even one meter. In spite of an army with around 400 to 500 aircraft, hundreds of cannons, tanks, and an advanced arsenal and chemical bombs which on the basis of their own sayings, they have used at least 3000 of them, it is strange and unprecedented that they have not been able to advance a few steps inside our front lines. The world military specialists have discerned that if an army is determined to advance, it can advance at any price. Now we are not concerned with what will happen next. From this side, our children, with the Arvand River and its characteristic long distance and not being familiar with the region, had a difficult way ahead of them. They were on their way to Karbala and were prepared to go to the war front. When they arrived at the battlefields, they stood there like mountains and did not move. They melted any force getting close and defeated them in the air and on land. The very same children of ours used an initiative that none of the world's bombs was able to prevent. They constructed a road on Bahmanshir and disappointed the enemy. This technical ability, engineering might and initiative is very interesting."

In the continuation of his speech, Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani added: "It is surprising how audacious the foreign mass media and the small states of the border are since they know their people watch our television, listen to our radio, have spiritual communication with our people and are like our people. But in spite of all these things, they lit to them! How ignorant and unmethodical they are from a political point of view! They call themselves Muslim and they talk so strongly about the attack on Faw but they never talk about Naft Shahr. The same Naft Shahr which is now in the hands of the Iraqis. Isn't Naft Shahr a city? Isn't an oil region? Why don't they notice Naft Shahr which in some respects is more important than Faw. The only difference is the strategic situation of Faw. As Mr Khamene'i has stated, they either have Arab fanaticism or are defending America. You ambassadors and charges d'affaires must be careful since the stupid confrontation of the enemies of the revolution will create some obstacles for you and you must disarm them in the regions of your assignments in the world. You must always be familiar with these subjects and be prepared to answer those who are concerned. You must arrange meetings and be aware that the events indicate that everything is fine and we will show them after the victory.

"After bearing all these losses, we are willing to invest for the people of Iraq and we are doing it now and our efforts are mostly for the future of the Iraqis. Maybe collecting compensation is not important for us and we only can compensate the real reparation with the liberation of the people of Iraq. To save them is our first objective and getting reparation is second for us and we are willing to relinquish a part of our compensation for their sake. We now propound these questions and after the victory, our logic, actions and humane backbone will indicate that when justice becomes certain, we will be able to introduce the revolution better and to more people in the world.

9815/12951

CSO: 4640/239

IRAN

FORMER PRIME MINISTER ESTABLISHES NEW ORGANIZATION

London KEYHAN in Persian 27 Mar 86 pp 1,14

/London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh/

/Text/ In its first statement pertaining to its recent establishment, the Organization for Defending the Freedom and Sovereignty of the Nation of Iran announced the members of its central committee. The members of this committee are almost all the same members of the central committee of the Freedom Movement under the leadership of Eng Mehdi Bazargan. It seems that this organization, established according to the constitution of the Islamic Republic, will replace the Freedom Movement.

The members of the central committee of the Organization for Defending the Freedom and Sovereignty of the Nation of Iran are as follows:

Mr Ali Ardalan Mehdi Bazargan, Mohammad Bastehnegar, Farhad Behbehani, Nurali Tabandeh, Mohammad Tavassoli, Habib Davaran, Akbar Zarineh Baf, Yadollah Sahabi, Hosseyn Shah Hosseyni, Nehzat Salehiyan, Hashem Sabaqian, Reza Sadr, Rahim 'Abedi, Jalal Qanizadeh, Mahmud Manian, Assadollah Mobasher, Aliakbar Mo'infar, Abolfazl Mirshams Shahshahani, Nezameddin Movahed, Nasser Minachi and Ebrahim Yazdi.

In the statement regarding the establishment of the Organization for Defending the Freedom and Sovereignty of the Nation of Iran, it is stated: "Dear Countrymen: With a feeling of responsibility at this sensitive time in the life of our country, a group of concerned citizens interested in Islam and Iran and seekers of the way of truth and faith, are determined to save and elevate the grandeur of our country despite the existing difficulties, and this concerned group has decided to establish a public and legal organization. We rely on God and confide our hopes in the people; our way is contained in a charter listing our principal beliefs, goals, and policies. This charter explains our political and social stand, which has been approved by the founders' congress and is referred to the elected central committee of the congress in order to start its work and take measures to fulfill our ideals according to the charter of the organization. We hope and anticipate that the organization will achieve its goals through the establishment of an open society and benefit from the support and approval of all the lovers of this land. We hereby announce the



establishment of this organization with the hope and anticipation that these efforts will open a ray of hope towards freedom and have the advantage of God's most accomplished blessing, the nation's sovereignty which is the very same as the caliphate of God becomes certain and accurate."

The Organization for Defending the Freedom and Sovereignty of the Nation of Iran has published its charter where it calls the Islamic revolution authentic, rising from the text of the society. In a part of this charter, it is stated: "To overlook the sovereign right of the nation in any name and under any condition and, also, the people's indifference towards their rights and destiny, will result in the establishment of educational, religious, ideological, political and military despotism, and as a result, it will detract them from human traits and will block contemplation, freeze perceptions and annihilate the spiritual and financial progress of the society."

This charter also states: "The people's awareness of their rights and basic freedoms, acceptance of suffering and pain to eliminate any kind of despotism, and using efforts to establish the nation's sovereignty, will return them to human characteristics and will pave the way for the growth of the society. The constitution, despite discomposure and imperfections, is in the rank of a charter for the nation's sovereignty and is like an alliance and commitment which makes the administration responsible in front of the nation and limits and restrains its power.

"A great many of the present problems and misfortunes facing the Islamic Republic such as harshness and strangulation, law breaking, lack of security, social disarray, aggravation of economic confusion and losses, foreign dependency, bloodshed and continuation of war and devastation, etc. are not the natural result of the revolution; they are caused by deviation from the fundamental goals of the revolution, breach of promises, and violating the fundamental and stipulated principals of the constitutional laws. In particular, neglecting the right of the sovereignty of the nation and depriving it of control and taking part in its destiny.

"The only way to save the country from these crises is the establishment of the nation's sovereignty and the return of this natural right to the people. Therefore, here, we announce the establishment of the Organization for Defending the Freedom and Sovereignty of the Nation with the following goals:

To eliminate any kind of oppressive treatment, and suffering from oppression, domination and being dominated.

To eliminate any kind of despotism, self-interest, and monopoly.

To create the appropriate background for all of the people's public participation and ascertain their political, economic, social and educational destiny.



To secure legal protection and all rights for the people, both men and women, and the establishment of judicial security and public equality in front of the law for everyone. To obtain basic acquittal, public and open trials, the right to choose an attorney, investigation of political and press accusations in the courts of the ministry of justice in the presence of a jury, and to prevent the execution of illegal punishments.

To fight against any search, impositions of belief and any kind of torture and compulsion, the act of calumniating and slander of the respect and prestige of the individuals, and illegal arrest, detention and banishment."

In its first declaration, the organization for Defending the Freedom and Sovereignty of the Nation of Iran, congratulated the Oil Nationalization day and the Iranian New Year. In the conclusion of the declaration, references were made to the statement of Dr Mossadeq in the 14th Parliament that 'no nation has attained anything under the shadow of despotism.'

9815/12276  
CSO: 4640/232

PAKISTAN

U.S. VICE PRESIDENT'S GULF TOUR CRITICIZED

GF171838 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 11 Apr 86 p 4

/Editorial: "Bushfires in the Gulf"/

/Text/ After the Reaganesque show over the Gulf of Sidra, the real McCoy, George Bush, currently vice president and formerly chief of CIA, is on a command visit to the Persian Gulf. He has chosen to drop the fig leaf he wore whilst setting out on this ominous odyssey and has now threatened to interfere in the Gulf even if uninvited. Has it received some go-ahead signals from the Soviet Union, which, significantly, made only formal muted noises in the case of Sidra? When setting out on the trip, Mr Bush intended to reprimand Saudi Arabia for messing up the oil market to a point where it had begun to hurt the real master of Saudi oil, the United States. Simultaneously, troubleshooter Murphy is also visiting the area, probably pressurising the Arab governments into recognizing the Zionist entity as quid pro quo for protection against the "menace" of resurgent Islamic forces. A 20 billion dollar carrot has been held out by Shimon Peres, the Zionist spokesman, to those Arab countries that would recognize the Zionist entity. The carrot comes too late and is uninvitingly small. The Zionist entity's myth of invincibility lies shattered on the shores of Sidon, Lebanon.

There is no doubt that to the American paranoia No 1 is none else than the nemesis of the Iraq-Iran war finally catching up with its author, the United States itself. U.S. policymakers are convinced that should Saddam suffer the imminent defeat sooner or later, the Islamic forces of Iran would not rest until they have carried the battle right into the heartland of the Zionist entity and dismantled it. It is this conviction of U.S. policymakers that drives them berserk. All the diplomatic flurry and even the summits between the superpowers have only one-time agenda: how to preserve the entity and the status quo. Whilst ostensibly the United States is purveying protection to the Arab governments, it will not lift its little finger to save them; all it is trying to do is to save the dollar and extricate itself from the dialectics of its own imperialistic insidiousness.

The threat by Vice President Bush to intervene in the gulf rings hollow. The United States knows it has no friends in the Muslim world; it has either flunkies or foes. Having got the not unexpected negative response from its own people, and the peoples of Europe and the Third World, over the show in the Gulf of Sidra, the United States, like a lame lion, can only roar impotently. It is time the Arab governments finally chose to place their future in the hands of their own masses and found a fire anchor in the principles of Islam. Or is that too much to expect from them?

PAKISTAN

BENAZIR BHUTTO URGES 'USURPER' ZIAUL HAQ TO RESIGN

OWL90021 Tokyo KYODO in English 0011 GMT 19 Apr 86

/Text/ Islamabad, 19 Apr KYODO--Pakistan opposition leader Benazir Bhutto Friday challenged President Gen Ziaul Haq to dare reimpose martial law and asked him to quit gracefully.

She told a rally of over 100,000 people in the garrison city of Rawalpindi that General Ziaul who has ruled Pakistan for 9 years has the option to leave gracefully or in disgrace, but "his ouster has become inevitable."

The huge crowd chanted "javey, Zia javey (Zia is bound to go)," as Benazir asserted that President Ziaul's government was illegal and unconstitutional.

Benazir, who returned to Pakistan on 10 April from forced exile in Britain, is on a whirlwind tour of the country to campaign for the ouster of President Ziaul.

Benazir, chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party, did not mention Ziaul by name, but throughout the speech referred to him as the "usurper." He also called him an oppressor and ridiculed his "Islamization" program, which she said was being opposed even by the leaders of right-wing parties.

Benazir, whose party boycotted the February 1985 elections held on a nonparty basis, called upon the National Assembly and the civilian administration of Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo to play a historical role. She said President Ziaul might try to use the assembly as a mask, but the people of Pakistan would not allow that to happen.

Benazir said the people have given their verdict that they want change through peaceful means and it is up to the National Assembly to play its role now.

/12228

CSO: 4600/284

#### BRIEFS

NEW NAVAL CHIEF--Vice Adm Iftikhar Ahmad Pirohi took over charge of the chief of the naval staff at an impressive ceremony in Islamabad this morning. Speaking on the occasion, the outgoing naval chief, Adm Tariq Kamal Khan, said the navy is now in a better position to defend country's maritime boundaries. /Excerpts/ /Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 10 Apr 86 BK/ 12228

AIR CHIEF VISITS TURKEY--The chief of the air staff, Air Chief Marshal Jamal Khan, has gone to Turkey on a 5-day visit to that country at the invitation of the Turkish Air Force commander, (Helsult). The Pakistan air chief will also meet with President Kenan Evren. /Excerpts/ /Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 9 Apr 86 BK/ 12228

CSO: 4656/73

SRI LANKA

IMPRESSIONS OF TAMIL-SINGHALESE CONFLICT, INDIAN MEDIATION

Paris LIBERATION in French 3, 4, 5-6 Apr 86

[Article by J. P. Gene: "Tamils in Revolt"]

[3 Apr 86 pp 23-24]

[Text] Escape to India

As the prospects for an imminent negotiated settlement to the Singhalese-Tamil ethnic conflict that has wracked Sri Lanka for 3 years, leaving a reported 3,000 victims, dwindle, the Central Government and the Tamil rebels seem on the brink of a test of military strength.

The two camps have accused one another of building up their military forces during the precarious ceasefire imposed thanks to Indian mediation in June. The truce, which opened the way to a dialogue under the aegis of Rajiv Gandhi, was broken in August.

The Sri Lankan Government of President Junius Jayewardene is devoting \$216 million, nearly 10 percent of its 1986 budget, to arms. Security forces have purchased rapid patrol boats, Italian-made Marchetti aircraft and Bell combat helicopters that will enable them to pound what they think are guerrilla bases. Along with this equipment buildup, the army has been increased to 30,000 men. A special intervention force has been trained by Israeli experts from Shin Bet and British mercenaries, former members of the British SAS.

According to Sri Lankan security forces, some 10,000 Tamil rebels fighting for the creation of an independent state in the northern and eastern regions of the island recently received weapons and reinforcements from southern India, an accusation denied by the Indian Government. The rebels are now said to be equipped with rockets, mortars and heavy machine guns. Rumors claiming the presence of SAM-5's in the arsenal of the different Tamil guerrilla groups have not been confirmed, however.

Despite the efforts of India and its minister of foreign affairs, Bali Ram Bhagat, Colombo's relations with the government in New Delhi have reached their lowest ebb. Accused of bias, India, which has offered to mediate, now threatens to go to the Human Rights Commission in Geneva because the



policy of the government in Sri Lanka involved "elements of genocide." "Physician, heal thyself!" the government in Colombo responded, alluding to problems encountered by Rajiv with his different ethnic communities.

The 2 million Tamils living in Sri Lanka, caught between their ties of blood with liberation movements and the Singhalese army's reprisals, are increasingly seeking exile in the neighboring province of Tamil Nadu, which, on the shore opposite Pas d'Adam, now accommodates 50 million Tamils of Indian nationality. We followed Manickam, a Tamil citizen and grocer in Sri Lanka whom we met in a cyclone shelter in Madras Province. He arrived there a year ago and still hopes to return home.

On 17 March 1980, Mrs Shirley Robertson, member of the Red Cross, passed through Kelambakkam, a village in the province of Tamil Nadu, 35 km south of Madras (India). As a plaque at the door to the building commemorates, she opened a cyclone shelter there, a refuge designed to house local people in the case of the cyclone warnings so frequent in this coastal region on the tip of the subcontinent.

When we went to Kelambakkam at the beginning of December, the road repairmen were at work on coastal roads. The last storm had struck the previous week and Tamil Nadu was one giant pool of water. Inhabitants of the neighboring village were going about their daily occupations, but the cyclone shelter was crammed full. For several seasons, in fact, it has been turned into the shelter for Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka.

They arrive from that island once known as Ceylon, only a few miles from the coast of Tamil Nadu. There live 3 million Tamils of the Hindu religion and 12 million Singhalese who follow Buddha. They have detested one another cordially for 2,500 years, but things have steadily deteriorated since independence in 1948. In 1977, 1981 and 1983, ethnic disturbances led the country to the brink of civil war. Convinced -- and not without reason -- that it was the victim of a discriminatory policy on the part of the Singhalese Government, the Tamil minority from the northern and eastern provinces took up arms for the cause of separatism. Many Tamil armed groups constantly wage guerrilla war against the Singhalese troops, which do not hesitate to use torture or reprisals on civilians. In Tamil territory, one has to choose between the Tigers (guerrilla forces) and the forces of order or go into exile. Since 1983, 130,000 have crossed Palk Strait, which separates Sri Lanka from Tamil Nadu, where 50 million Tamil brothers of Indian nationality live.

Manickam Chandrakumar, 26, a grocer in Vavuniya (100 km south of Jaffna) made the decision to leave the island on the day after 14 August 1984. It had rained that night and Manickam preferred to sleep in his shop instead of returning to his home outside the village. At 1:30 in the morning, there was a violent knock at the door: "We are the army. We wish you no harm, but we want some fruit." Half naked, he and his clerk lifted the curtain. Scarcely in the door, the soldiers pointed their guns at them, put them up against the wall with their hands in the air and began to beat them. "We have received a tip that you give food to the Tigers," the officer said. After looting the store and emptying the money box whose key they had found under a doormat,

the soldiers took Manickam and his clerk to the neighboring military camp of Eerapuliyankulam. After a final beating, the two were thrown into a cell, where Manickam survived for 2 weeks without anyone looking after him and without any contact with the outside. Fortunately, Manickam, ever the shrewd merchant, did indeed pay off the guerrillas, as he admitted to us later, but he also supplied the canteen of the military camp where he was being held and had a number of officers among his best customers. The most promising, Officer in Command R. G. Senanayake, was unfortunately on leave, which explains the length of his detention, and Manickam had to await his return to arrange the deal: his release in exchange for 3,000 rupees, 1.5 times the monthly pay of an officer. A dozen Tamils had been arrested the same night as Manickam and only four or five were able to afford to pay their way out. Once out, Manickam did not hesitate. A single warning was enough to make him pack and leave with his small family. Destination: Tamil Nadu, 42 km away on foot, hiding at night, in order to get to the sea and cross the strait to India. In the opposite direction, he had taken the path followed at the close of the last century by his blood brothers recruited in India by British tea planters. Once in Manar, the stronghold of Tamil guerrillas, a boat had to be found to cross Pas d'Adam, linking the peninsula of Manar with Rameswaram. Since October 1984, the ferry that traditionally stopped in winter months has never resumed its service. It sank off the coast of Rameswaram. The caste of fishermen who rule the coast with their flat-bottom fiberglass boats charges 110 rupees a person if the motor uses diesel and 200 if it uses gas. Manickam could only afford diesel. Departing from Pelasai at midnight, he set foot on Indian soil at dawn the next day. With some 20 passengers, he had gone through Sri Lankan patrol boats.

Since July 1983, the date of the bloodiest rioting, tens of thousands have taken the same path, as the boats crowded in front of the Rameswaram port harbor master's office testify. The daily volume of refugees is an excellent barometer of the internal situation in Sri Lanka, moreover. When we went there, a semblance of a truce reigned on the island. The former waiting room for departing passengers -- now those arriving -- was deserted. When Manickam arrived almost a year ago, one had to fight one's way to the different gates hastily set up to check this sudden flow of boat people. First, a check of one's papers, following which one is classified as a Sri Lankan Tamil or a Tamil without nationality if one has nothing to show, then the health inspection, issuance of the refugee card and address of a provisional lodging. Nor is there any lack of inns suddenly converted into refugee centers in this holy city where one watches a constant flow of thousands of faithful adorned with all the ornaments of their religion. They purify themselves in the ocean waters before proceeding on to the delights of the Hindu religious ardor in the countless temples with the exquisite facades.

Local authorities have been very careful not to mix pilgrims and immigrants, however, inasmuch as the presence of one group might prove harmful to the welcome of the others. Construction of a minicamp of permanent bungalows was undertaken left unfinished. As for the local population, Tamil like the train of refugees, it naturally supports its blood brothers who are the victims of segregation even if it suffers from it in silence. The growing presence of Sri Lankan patrol boats so quick to fire and that of the Indian

Navy which is supposed to protect its nationals truly does not encourage fishing, the main resource of hundreds of crews of that sandy peninsula. Not daring to stray too far from the coast, they often return in the wee hours with their holds only half full. They will spread their catch in the sun on the beach and, once it is dried, send it to the continent on the same train that brings its daily lot of Sri Lankan refugees to the capital of Tamil exile: Mandapam. The train leaves the remodeled station of Rameswaram at 1130 hours each day and stops twice before crossing the last arm of the sea via a bridge that gains in prestige the better one knows it: The ocean can be seen through the trestles! For 10 years now, developers have predicted a fine tourist and commercial future for this region with the interminable beaches just a stone's throw from Sri Lanka. It was decided to build a new concrete bridge and the first arches were erected at each end, but it will take a long time before they are connected. In the meantime, the direction of the traffic has been reversed. No one goes to Sri Lanka any more; rather, they are running away from it. The Mandapam camp that awaited Manickam as he left the train is the best proof. Several hundred permanent buildings each able to house a dozen families are scattered on a hill as far as the beach. Palm trees, the sun and the sea. It is a camp that many refugees would like to have known, built by the British. This was the gathering point for all the Indians that the recruiting sergeants persuaded -- willingly or by force -- of the benefits to be gained by picking tea in the malaria-ridden hills of the old Ceylon. At the time, no one spoke any more about any slave market; rather, one used the term "recruiting center," where every owner in the Empire came to collect his quota of sweat. Today, the descendants of those who crossed over with a one-way ticket have returned to the same place, just as poor and hungry.

At Mandapam, Manickam received his refugee allotment offered by the Indian Government: a cooking pot, blankets and a few supplies. He had to learn to live with that and the meager belongings he had managed to save. Mandapam, which can take in as many as 10,000 exiles, is theoretically only a transit center that distributes its people based on the number of spots available in the 110 cyclone shelters scattered along the coasts of Tamil Nadu. After several weeks, Manickam landed at Kelambakkam at the shelter once opened by Mrs Shirley Robertson. He now shares accommodations with 246 persons, 42 families. Everyone is on an equal footing: 95 rupees and 12 kilos of rice at lowered prices per person per month. This is the scant aid furnished by the central Indian Government. "One person eats half a kilo of rice a day. That makes enough rice for 24 days, which leaves a week before the month is out," Manickam explained in his private quarters. The cyclone shelter is a round, one-storey building about 25 meters in diameter with a pillar in the middle. Every level is cut like a pie with the size of the pieces depending on the size of the families. They are separated by saris hung on strings tied between the central pillar and the walls. Every person has about 1 square meter. Family intimacy is not the lot of the refugees, who still seem to suffer more from inactivity than promiscuity.

So there the refugees are, unoccupied in their cyclone shelters which are often out in the middle of nowhere. Farmers, they have no land to cultivate. Fishermen, they do not have the right to fish because they would be competing

with the local population. They must be content with odd jobs offered by local residents. The boldest among them engage in illegal fishing in order to meet their needs.

Out of the 130,000 refugees arriving in Tamil Nadu since July 1983, some 30,000 are in Manickam's situation, housed in camps under the authority of the Indian Government and many humanitarian organizations that help them to the extent they are able. Between July 1983 and September 1985, the Central Government spent 40 million rupees to care for these 30,000 refugees, the 100,000 others having the material or family means to get along by themselves. The Indian authorities have notified all of them that they were there only temporarily and that they should not even dream of living in India permanently. In Madras, the residents refer to the refugee problem, without hostility or excessive enthusiasm, but in that inimitable tone an Indian uses to explain that a problem does exist. It is simple: The refugees are not alone. The "boys," the Tigers, in short, the representatives of the different guerrilla groups, have also found an ideal rear base in Tamil Nadu and have permanent headquarters in Madras, with the tacit consent of the Indian Government.

[4 Apr 86 pp 22-23]

[Text] Guerrilla Exercise

"Hands up!" The order is shouted from the underbrush by an anonymous voice. Our escort knows the password and we go through the sentry gate without any problem. We shall never see his face and will never know where we have been. A few days earlier, the leaders of TELO [Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization], one of the main Tamil guerrilla movements, asked us to keep the place of the crime a secret. In exchange, we were the first foreign newsmen to visit one of their military training camps.

You could not miss it: 500 meters after the woods. Its wooden gateway, worthy of any Western movie, clearly announced in capital letters: TELO ARMY CAMP, along with the movement's emblem, two torches crossed over a rifle. We were definitely in military territory. The guard in his tattered uniform raised the barrier and presented arms: solid clubs cut from the nearby forest. First and last names, professions and time of arrival were carefully noted into the record. The staff awaited us, headed by Major Kugan, 23, who has led maneuvers for 2 years. From Jaffna, he fought 6 months on the front before being wounded and transferred to these new duties. He would later show us the scar on his left shoulder proving that the bullet came close. Wearing tennis shoes, pants and a T-shirt, he wore civilian dress, as did all the officers with him. No one was over 30. The Tamil guerrilla war is in the hands of the young.

About 300 men busied themselves in the few hectares occupied by the camp. Its arrangement is quite conventional. The center is obviously the flagpole, where the colors for which they are prepared to fight fly. It is erected on the mall which, from its poor but well-kempt embankment, overlooks the parade grounds where the troops daily chant the international binary rhythm: "One, two; one, two; left. One, two; one, two...."



The quarters are built out of local materials: wood, rammed earth and thatched roofs. Each of the battalions, of some 60 men, has a separate dormitory, barracks 20 by 4 meters. At night, the guerrilla soldiers sleep on mats laid on the packed dirt floors. Even in such poor rooms, without mattresses, sheets or pillows, the beds must be neatly made. The two meager blankets given to each man must be folded on the impeccably rolled mat. This silent display of the gear guaranteeing the minimum sleep of an apprentice guerrilla soldier says more about the underlying nature of the Tamil revolt than all the words in the world could portray. One would have to know anger, true anger, to leave everything, go underground and come sleep here on the freezing ground from 2200 to 0400 hours in the morning. In the name of the liberation of Tamil Eelam.

The rest of the visit only confirms this diagnosis. Every military camp has an infirmary. When we were there, there were four patients, three sick with the flu and one man wounded in the foot. The nurse had to leave the University of Jaffna suddenly before the end of his fourth year of medical school. Every month, a certified doctor belonging to the TELO comes to make a general visit. "We have no bandages, disinfectant, antibiotics or medicine for fever," the nurse told me, and he was not kidding.

Every military camp, especially one with a political vocation, must have a library. Taking up arms does not mean one does not exercise one's soul. The books are lined up on both sides of the central walkway through the barracks. The complete history of the TELO group, contained in its different publications, the major works with their tattered bindings, those by the main theoreticians of the world revolution, and a few forbidding looking economic texts are available on rudimentary shelves. "It is not enough to learn to use weapons," their keeper told me.

It was the noon break. All along the neat gravel paths, companies, battalions and various squadrons marched in orderly files to receive their rations. We had toured the pantry before reaching the canteen. In that hut, identical in every way to all the others, were stored the troops' provisions: bags of rice, onions, carrots, cabbages, corn and the condiments indispensable to the confection of any dish here. Supplies come once a month, carried on the backs of men for kilometers. "It is excellent physical exercise," says Major Kugan. Every man costs 15 rupees a day for food, over 120,000 rupees a month for all the troops. Rice, lentils (dal) and hard-boiled eggs: This is the daily fare, ladled out into the tin bowls held out to the appointed cook. Nothing was left on the plates. It was hard for us to get the meager ration down, using our bare hands, at the officers' mess where we had been invited.

It was time to explain the rules of the Telo Army Camp: "If a boy wants to join the TELO, he contacts a representative of the group in the field. We are everywhere," one noncommissioned officer explained. The candidate is tested, tried out in the daily work of the militant. He must submit to a physical examination and must go through physical training. His IQ is evaluated. If he passes this first test of the soldier, he can enter the training camp, for a minimum of 6 months, knowing that if he makes such a choice, he can take no backward step. The rules are not exactly those of a youth club:



There is no smoking or drinking. The men must be celibate and forget about any contact with the opposite sex. There is no leave, soldiers must show absolute respect for and obedience to officers and devote body and soul to the TELO. "We lose only 2 percent," Major Kugan says.

"Do you have any desertions?"

"Rarely, and they are always caught."

"What happens to them?"

"They are punished."

Camp officials have nothing to hide. Two apprentice guerrillas recently cracked and tried to escape. They did not get far. Major Kugan called them before us. Two young men about 20, fear could be read in their eyes and their hands trembled. They were visibly not cut out to be guerrilla soldiers. They now regret their decision and, held in a special place, must await the judgment to be pronounced by the leader of the TELO at his next inspection tour. They fear the worst. "We are an underground group and we cannot let people go who know everything about us," the major explains.

It was 1500 hours. Going by the schedule which regulates camp life, it was time for physical training, particularly stringent for foreign visitors. We went to the mall where we heard the whistles and orders given to the infantry: "One, two; one, two!" Every battalion went back and forth endlessly before us before reaching the field set up in the surrounding brush. The men had to cross trenches dug in the ground, go hand over hand over imaginary precipices, jump from the tops of trees past flaming brush and climb another using a knotted rope, all in time with the infernal rhythm maintained by noncoms posted at different check points.

Rasan will be 19 next month, but he looks 15. I cornered him following a roll-ball technique away from his superiors, but it was a needless ruse. Barefoot in tennis shoes held together by their laces, wearing flooding pants with patches over patches and a khaki sweater with the elbows nearly gone, Rasan remained at attention all the while we talked, his chin with the nearly invisible beard proudly raised.

"The training is not too difficult?"

"Nothing is too difficult for the liberation of the Tamil Eeela."

So much for that. Rasan is from around Jaffna. His father was ruined, his sister raped and his brother killed, all by the Singhalese Army. He joined the Tamil guerrillas because it was his "duty."

On the obstacle course, what was the hardest element?

"All the drills are necessary for the training of a fighter."

"Naturally, you have to do them, but they are not all alike. Which one do you like the least?"

He let down his guard slightly and dropped his eyes as if somewhat ashamed, but at the same time, his jaw relaxed and he nearly smiled. "I don't like going up the rope," Rasan admitted.

"Why not?"

"Because I get vertigo."

We left as friends. Rasan could after all end up at a pizza place on the Champs Elysees, where more than one Tamil exile has stood alongside Catania natives making the Sicilian specialty. We had been at the Telo Army Camp for several hours and had not seen one weapon, a real one with a barrel, trigger and bullets. The major had warned us when we arrived: Weapons are classified as "secret defense" and are off limits to foreign eyes. All the same, they could end our visit in a dignified manner with a few bursts of fire. We did not have to coax.

A life-size target was quickly set up on the firing range and two weapons (apparently Belgian-made) appeared. Discipline suddenly relaxed and all the men gathered around the firing line. It was the major's turn to fire first. Stiff and straight some 30 meters from the target, he took his time aiming and pulled the trigger amidst deafening silence. Once, twice, three times. One of the kids went to examine the bullet holes, but for nothing. Major Kugan had blown it. No one said anything.

"We recently broke down the weapons to clean and grease them. The sight has to be adjusted," one noncom explained. And all subsequent attempts proved he was right. No one had a bull's-eye. "For training, we only have old weapons. Most of our weapons are taken from the Singhalese Army during different attacks and go to the commandos fighting in the field," the major admitted, anxious to defend the credibility of his organization to the foreign press. The show was over. After a short rest and a cup of tea, the battalions began the last part of the day of the soldier at the Telo Army Camp: political education. Oral questions on the history of the TELO, the name of the major martyrs and the most successful operations, detailed explanations of the texts of the classics of the world revolution given in a military tone tolerating no dissent.

"Long live the Tamil Eelam!" With that cry, uttered in unison by the troops gathered around the flag, we left the Telo Army Camp, signing the register on our way out and reviewing one more time the sentries who presented their clubs. We left behind 300 young Tamils labeled as guerrillas by some, terrorists by others. For us, they will remain Tamils trying to learn the art of weapons with the meager means at hand in the defense of a cause they deem to be just and for which they are ready to die. That is something.

## Twenty Organizations

While one can easily count over 20 Tamil organizations mainly set up in Madras, there are 5 that make up most of the political and military strike force of the Tamil community. Four belong to the ENLF (Eelam National Liberation Front) in order to try to present a united political front in negotiations with the Sri Lankan Government. They are the:

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), founded in 1975. The Tigers are the most important and most famous group and any Tamil rebel is often labeled "Tiger." Their military force is an estimated 3,000 relatively well-armed guerrillas (mortars, RPG's, and so on). Under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran, advised by Dr Balasingam, they are the most active in the armed struggle. Claiming to be Marxist-inspired, they fight for the socialist Tamil Eelam and maintain close relations with national liberation movements, particularly Palestinian, throughout the world.

Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO), founded in 1973 by Tanghathurai, who was sentenced to death in 1982 with his principal lieutenant. They both died shortly thereafter, killed by common law prisoners, according to the official report, but probably executed by the guards. After the Tigers, they have the largest number of soldiers, some 2,000, and have pulled off several spectacular actions such as the attack on a Sinhalese train in December 1984. While they claim to be socialists, their current leader, Sri Sabaratnam, is visibly more a soldier than an ideologist.

Eelam Revolutionary Organization (EROS), founded in 1975 in London under the leadership of Aliathamby Ratnasabathiy, a Marxist economist. The movement resembles more a gathering of intellectuals and prefers economic sabotage to armed attacks.

Eelam Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (ERPLF), which sprang from a student movement in 1981 and calls itself a pure, hard-line Marxist group that considers the USSR as "a model democracy." It became famous in 1984, kidnaping a young American couple, the Allens, whom they accused of being CIA agents. They were released. The ERPLF and EROS have only a few hundred armed members.

The fifth group, the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), distinct from the others, which often distrust it. The PLOTE, which follows traditional Marxist ideology, refuses to distinguish between Tamils and Sinhalese and fights for the total liberation of Sri Lanka and the establishment of a socialist state. It claims to include leftist militants of both ethnic groups and recently suspended its military operations in Sri Lanka, for it is opposed to the tactic of ambushes and attacks which always provoke reprisals against the civilian population. As long as we do not have the means of protecting the people, these commando actions are irresponsible, their leader Uma Maheswaran, claims in substance. A former member of the Tigers (LTTE), he split with them over political motives and personal quarrels with Prabhakaran. The PLOTE is definitely the group that has the most financial and military means, even if they are now used for training at camps in Tamil Nadu (India).

Its leader, Uma Maheswaram, publicly claims to have been trained by George Habache's group in Lebanon.

[5-6 Apr 86 pp 20-21]

[Text] Battle of Trincomalee

One has but to look at the map to understand the importance of this battle. Sri Lanka is divided into six provinces. The northern (capital Jaffna) and eastern (capital Batticaloa) ones are claimed by Tamil separatists. The district of Trincomalee, 2,740 km<sup>2</sup> with 300,000 inhabitants, is the hinge between the two. Without Trincomalee, the Tamils are cut off from half of the territory they claim. Without Trincomalee, the government in Colombo is deprived of a unique military site with a radius of thousands of kilometers. Tucked into a natural bay, this deep-water port can accommodate over 20 warships invisible from the ocean. The Royal Navy long used it as a basis for maneuvers in the Indian Ocean.

The battle for control of this district has gone on for decades and can be summed up in two figures. At the time of the first official census in 1871, the Singhalese population of the Buddhist religion did not exceed 4.5 percent of the total. By the time of the latest 1981 census, it amounted to 36 percent in this territory traditionally peopled by Hindu Tamils and, to a lesser extent, of Muslims. This demographic evolution is the fruit of a policy of colonization initiated discreetly in 1951 by the government in Colombo and accelerated in the 1970's. The tactic was a simple one: the establishment of Singhalese communities from the southern provinces, mainly land turned over to them by the government authorities. Between 1951 and 1982, five colonies of this type were set up at Kantulai, Allai, Mora Wawu, Padawiya and Moha Dival Wawa. Since the Tamils invoked the notion of historic legitimacy in order to justify their right to independence over this land, they had to be attacked on those grounds. Between 1977 and 1982, 48 sites of historic, archeological or religious interest to the Buddhist community were discovered in the region. Overnight a statue or ruins would appear justifying first the construction of a temple and later the establishment of a community of the same religion. Three sites of several dozen km<sup>2</sup> were thus declared "secret cities" at Seruwila, Thiriyai and Wilgam Vihara and reserved solely for persons of the Buddhist religion.

Another method consisted of settling Singhalese seasonal fishermen who came from the western coast for a few months of the year to fish on the eastern coast. Seven villages were built specially for them, surrounding several Tamil villages and forcing the latter to emigrate to Jaffna Province.

The man who told me of this slow deterioration of the situation in the district of Trincomalee lived through it and had a front-seat view. From 1970 to 1977, Thangaturai was a deputy for the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) from the canton of Mutur, a few kilometers south of Trincomalee. When, in 1981, the Central Government decided to set up a decentralization policy, he was elected president of the district's development council. "I had the right to a car and a chauffeur for 2 years. None of the powers provided for in the



decentralization law was delegated to me and I never received a sou from the government for the development of the region." In August 1983, he resigned from his deputy post when the government demanded, within the framework of the Sixth Amendment to the constitution, that every deputy must not allow himself to favor the creation of an independent Tamil state. He was arrested for the first time in 1978, accused of being responsible for violence in a village in his district. The court released him 8 months later, lacking proof.

In September 1983, when he was president of the district council, he decided to go to the United States. At the airport, his passport was seized and he was accused of making propaganda abroad against the Sri Lankan Government. Questioned for a day in the offices on the fifth floor of the notorious CID (Central Intelligence Department) in Colombo, he was able to get his passport back only after threatening to take legal proceedings against the Immigration Department. On 1 December 1984, he went to see his ailing mother in his native village of Kiliveddi and was again arrested and held for 6 hours without any cause. Finally, on 10 February 1985, he was again questioned in Trincomalee and was jailed for 89 days at the Fort Frederick military camp. He was not questioned until the 74th day, without ever learning the reason for his arrest.

He was released on 9 May, still without any motive. A few days before, he had nearly died in prison. "Three men were brought into the corridor and the guards, who were drunk, began to beat them with gun butts. We could see them through the bars in the door of our cell. One of them was bleeding and the guards gave his brother a towel so he could care for him in the bathroom. That was when we heard two shots. The third man was asthmatic and had an attack. The guard told him to go to the bathroom. He obeyed and we heard him cry 'Mother' before the shot. The guard was a Christian and when he returned, he made the sign of the cross. He opened the door of our cell -- there were three of us -- and told me: 'It's your turn to go to the WC.' That is when I heard shouts in the hall. It was the officer on duty who, alerted by the shots, was coming to see what was happening. Thanks to him I survived."

On 24 June 1985, Thangaturai left Sri Lanka definitively for Madras, where he continues to wage the fight for the independence of Tamil Eelam. He has remained at a distance from the TULF, which, having believed too much in the promises of the Jayewardene government, discredited itself in the eyes of the Tamil population and lost out to the different guerrilla groups. When he arrived in Madras, several meetings organized at the prompting of Rajiv Gandhi took place in the state of Bouthan between separatist representatives and emissaries of the Sri Lankan Government. The institution of a ceasefire seemed to open the way to a negotiated settlement, but nothing of the sort came about.

The battle of Trincomalee broke out in August 1985. Guerrilla actions against military patrols, reprisals by the army, whose list of exactions vis-a-vis the civilian population is interminable, the latest balance sheet is eloquent: For the city of Trincomalee alone, according to the government representative, 7,000 homes were destroyed or damaged, 30,000 persons living in refugee camps with 4.5 Sri Lankan rupees a day (1.8 French francs), 5,700 families which have gone to live with relatives or friends, and more than 20,000 more who



have gone north to Jaffna. Once a tourist city, Trincomalee now has only empty hotels surrounded by ruins. Divided into different sectors more or less controlled by security forces or one of the militias, the city is alive only a few hours a day before the curfew takes effect. Further south, Batticaloa, once protected, now enjoys the same fate. The citizens defense committee has counted 186 persons who have disappeared in recent months and according to a Catholic priest on the committee, "the situation is so bad that any young Tamil between the ages of 14 and 30 must leave the eastern province if he wants to escape this slow genocide."

Sri Lankan authorities protest such accusations with extreme virulence, but the only denial they can furnish consists of prohibiting access to the northern and eastern provinces to any foreign newsman. One can understand this reaction when one knows what the truce decided upon in June by the Jayewardene government was used for. One has but to hear the president himself. In an interview on "India Today" in December 1985, he admitted: "No, we were not ready before. Now we have bought weapons and we are training our soldiers. We are getting ready for decisive military action if nothing comes of the negotiations." He openly admitted that the truce had enabled him to strengthen his army in view of military action for "the complete eradication of terrorist activities from the country and the total liquidation of terrorist elements."

The first concrete indication of this choice was perceptible in a change in tactics by the Armed Forces. Tired of being the constant target of ambushes by the different Tamil groups, experts in the art of laying mines under the wheels of armored trucks, the Army decided to respond, not by sweeps, but by air (the Sri Lankan Air Force now has a dozen Italian-made Marchetti fighter jets, some 20 American Bell helicopters bought on the Singapore market and several Cessnas for air reconnaissance). Aerial bombings or attacks by helicopter gunships took separatist groups, not prepared for such an eventuality, by surprise. At the same time, the Army, which, especially in the north, had long been quartered in camps which it could not leave without great risk, set up a security perimeter 1 km wide around each of its bases. At the sign of any incident within that zone, it can fire with impunity at any suspect.

Thanks to these measures and the effects of training supplied by some 15 Israeli experts, housed on the 3d floor of a commercial center in Colombo, and by British mercenaries who have set up a Special Task Force, the government forces seem to have regained the advantage in the field, a precarious advantage that might be rapidly thwarted if the separatists should obtain SAM 7 missiles to respond to the air attacks. Tamil circles make no mystery of the fact that any escalation in the military confrontation will determine the fate of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka within a matter of months.

#### Impossible Military Solution

For years, people have been beaten, gone into exile, died and been tortured in Sri Lanka and the conflict has been kept astonishingly quiet in international news, except for a few explosions of racial hatred whose scope suddenly shakes people awake. The latest came in July 1983, when the slaughter of the Tamil

people in Colombo took on the look of a pogrom. Since the beginning of that year, the conflict between the Singhalese Buddhist majority and the Tamil Hindu minority had turned into a pitched battle pitting some 10,000 rebels against 30,000 soldiers from the regular forces. Following the failure of negotiations that had never really gotten off the ground, both camps now believe that the only solution will be military. On both sides, however, there is a realization that such a conflict, with ethnic and religious roots, cannot be resolved by the force of arms.

Between those who dream of an independent Tamil state limited to two of the six provinces of the country and those who call such separatists terrorists, India, within gun range of Sri Lanka, is invested with a mission of compulsory mediation. Opposite these 2 million Sri Lankan Tamils live 50 million Indian Tamils who will not tolerate the passiveness of their government in the face of the discriminatory policies of the Colombo authorities. The fact is that by taking in tens of thousands of refugees and accommodating the separatist leaders, Rajiv Gandhi is necessarily part and parcel of the conflict. The son of Indira, who had openly favored the Tamil rebellion vis-a-vis the old Singhalese leader Jayewardene, tried during the early months of his term to convince both sides of his neutrality. He put pressure on Tamil groups to bring them to the negotiating table. He forced the Sri Lankan Government to make proposals for a dialogue and forced the opposing camp to respond, but in vain. The ceasefire forced in extremis in June did not even last the summer and merely provided both camps with the respite they needed to build up their fire power.

Today, India, through its minister of foreign affairs, accuses Colombo of waging a policy involving "elements of genocide" and Colombo in turn replies: "Physician, heal thyself!" It is an allusion to the problems of the different ethnic minorities in India. International humanitarian organizations regularly publish disturbing reports on human rights violations committed on the island by Sri Lankan forces. President Jayewardene's government denies them just as regularly. The people are turning into refugees, while the separatists take guerrilla training, the Sri Lankan Army is modernized and the government forbids the foreign press from going to the place of the crime. Like in South Africa.

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